THE

### HISTORY

OF THE

#### REIGN

OF

### PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

BY ROBERT WATSON, LL. D.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. II.

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WHILE the transactions that have been relate BOOK ed passed in Zealand, the same spirit of revolt, by which the people of that province were actuated, made rapid progress in some of the other of Holland. provinces. The inhabitants of Enchuysen were the first in North Holland who had the courage to plant the standard of liberty upon their walls; and those of Medenblick, Edam, Purmerend, and other towns, quickly followed the example. In some of these places, part of the people were averse to this revolution; but these were few, compared with their opponents, and were obliged either to yield to the majority, or to fecure themselves by flight from their refentment.

The same measures were pursued, at the same time, in the fouthern parts of the province. That VOL. II.

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BOOK flame which had been kindled some time before, burst out at once in a thousand different places.

And in a sew months, Leyden, Gouda, Dort, Haerlem, and all the other towns in Holland, Amsterdam excepted, had openly declared against the Spaniards, and avowed their resolution to acknowledge no other authority in suture, but that of the prince of Orange, and the States. The same resolution was formed in several of the cities of Over-

vffel, Friesland, and Utrecht.

This revolution, fo favorable to William's views, was not a little promoted by intrigues, which, although he himself was absent, were carried on in his name, and by his authority. In letters to the principal inhabitants he had allured them to his interest, by flattering them with the hopes of having all their privileges secured; of enjoying sulf freedom to exercise their religion, whether protestant or catholic; and of being for ever delivered from that oppressive load of taxes with which they had been overwhelmed. In order to enforce these exhortations, he sent his agents throughout the provinces; and most of these were persons either of great address, or of great authority and influence among the people.

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In Holland, the revolution was chiefly owing to the activity of Sonoy, whom the prince had fent thither as governor substitute, till he himself should arrive: and in Guelderland, Utrecht, and Friesland, to the count of Bag, a nobleman of interest in those parts, who was married to William's fifter, and acted in every thing by his direction.

William's military preparations were at this time far advanced, and he hoped foon to begin his march, with the probability of a more profperous iffue than had attended his former expedition. He had already collected a formidable army of well-disciplined forces. Considerable fums had been transmitted to him by the friends of his cause; and the strongest assurances had been given him, that fome of the principal cities in the fouthern provinces would open their gates to receive him. But no circumstance contributed more to inspire him with a confidence of success. than the new measures which, a little before the present period, had been embraced by the court of France.

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In the bloody contest, which had sublifted for The affairs feveral years between the catholics and protestants in that kingdom, the former had generally been victorious. But the latter, roused by their leaders, the same aided by foreign powers, animated by zeal for their religion, and inflamed with refentment on account of the cruel perfecutions which had been exercised against them, continued to make such vigorous efforts, as created in their enemies the most alarming apprehensions with regard to the iffue of the war. The court had, at different times offered them advantageous terms of accommodation; and peace had oftener than once been establi lished between the contending parties. But their pretentions, their interests, and their religious principles, were incompatible; and they remained quiet only till they were in a condition to renew

BOOK XI. 1572. His military preparations.

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XI. 1572.

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hostilities. The court never had more reason to entertain hopes of being able to extirpate their opponents, than towards the end of the year one thousand five hundred and fixty-nine. Their brave and active leader, the prince of Condé, had been killed in the battle of Jarnac; they had afterwards received a dreadful overthrow in the battle of Moncontour; and the admiral Coligni, with the young princes of Bourbon, had been obliged to retire. with the feeble remains of their fhattered army to the mountains of Gascony and Languedoc. There, however, they exerted themselves strenuoully in making preparations for trying once more the fortune of war; and in a few months, they drew together a force sufficient to enable them to leave their retreat, and to enter the lifts against the royal army.

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When intelligence of this was brought to the mother's plot queen mother, who exercised at that time an unlimited authority in the government, she was equally exasperated and alarmed; and she resolved to employ other means than open force, to be avenged upon her enemies. She communicated her plan only to the king, the duke of Anjou, the cardinal of Lorrain, the duke of Guife, and Alberto Gondi, count of Retz; who all engaged to maintain the most inviolable secrecy. Time only brought to light their dark design. The protestants, they now believed, were not to be overcome by the force of arms; and it was refolved to have recourse to fraud and circumvention.

In pursuance of this plan, a new treaty with

the princes of Navarre and the admiral was fet on foot, and foon afterwards concluded at St. Germains. By this treaty, the protestants received a free pardon of all their past offences, with liberty to make public profession of the reformed religion: and the princes and admiral were allowed, for their security, to retain possession of Rochelle, Cognac, La Charité, or Montauban, on condition. that if the articles of the peace were observed, these places should be delivered to the king within the space of two years from the date of the present

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The protestant leaders entertained the same diftrust of the fincerity of the king and queen mother in this, as in all their former negociations. They were still afraid of putting themselves in their power, and remained at a distance from court, in the places of strength which had been affigned them. In order to remove their fuspicions, every species of artifice was employed. All the articles of the peace were punctually fulfilled. Strict orders were iffued to allow the protestants in all places to celebrate openly their religious assemblies; and in all the difputes which happened between the catholics and them, the latter were treated with indulgence, while the former had, on many occasions, reason to complain of injustice or severity. Charles embraced every opportunity to express the pleasure which he now enjoyed, in having restored tranquillity to his kingdom; and even when none but zealous catholics were present, he often declared how unalterably fixed his purpole was, to perform,

BOOK XI. 1574.

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with ftrict fidelity, his engagements with the protestants. He had sufficiently experienced the folly of attempting to fubdue men's consciences by force; and no confideration would make him return to his former unhappy measures; which he had found to be no less ineffectual for accomplishing the end intended, than they were destructive of his own repose, and pernicious to his subjects. counsellors, except those who were partners in the bloody fecret, believed him to be fincere; and, by the accounts which they gave of his discourse, added to the displeasure which they expressed at his change of conduct, they contributed to complete the delufion of the protestants. The admiral, however, still retained his wonted diffidence; and when urged by the king to come to court, and receive in person every proof that could be given him of fincere attachment, he declared, that it was impossible for him to think himself secure, where his mortal enemies of the family of Guife were poffelfed of fo much power.

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To have gratified the admiral by so great a concession as the immediate removal of the Guises, Charles knew would have had a suspicious aspect; and therefore he went no further at this time, than to assure him that his sears were groundless, and that his enemies were not masters as formerly. But soon after the duke of Guise and his brother left the court, seemingly much disgusted with the measures which were there pursued. At the same time, other means of delusion were employed, more likely to produce the desired effect.

Charles offered his fifter in marriage to the King BOOK of Navarre; and an ambassador was fent to England, to negociate a match between the duke of Anjou and queen Elizabeth. But of all the instruments of deceit which he employed, there was none more efficacious, than the declaration which he made of his refolution to enter into war with the king of Spain. Philip had refused, he faid, to grant him reparation for certain injuries which his fubjects had received from the Spaniards in America; and he was determined to take vengeance on that prince, by invading his dominions in the Netherlands. He offered the command of the army, which he talked of fending thither, to the admiral, and affured him that he would be entirely governed by his counfels, and those of the prince of Orange and count Lewis, in carrying on the war.

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No proposal could be better calculated than this to blind the admiral's penetration. Conscious of superior military talents, he was naturally fond of war; sincere in his profession of the reformed religion, he was zealous to propagate and defend it; and he was strongly attached by sympathy of manners, as well as religious principles, to the princes of Naffau. Count Lewis was with him at Rochelle, when the proposal was delivered, and he contributed not a little to banish from his mind the remains of those suspicions, which he still retained of the king's fincerity. Soon afterwards they both fet out for Paris, where they were received and treated with so much esteem and confidences

1572.

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as gave the admiral a full conviction that the fentiments both of the king and the queen mother

were in reality what they feemed.

- Charles thought it necessary for his purpose to wear the mask for some time longer; and as he found that nothing had ferved so effectually to lull the admiral's suspicions as this last device, he affected to be extremely folicitous about making preparations for the war; and in the mean time defired count Lewis to repair to the frontiers of the Netherlands: to communicate his design to the malecontents, and to hold them in readiness for the admiral's arrival with the troops. There was nothing farther from his intention than to begin hoftilities. But no fooner were the Huguenots informed of the defign on which count Lewis had fet out, than great numbers of them, prompted by their religious zeal, and by the restless military spirit of the age, flocked after him, and offered to affift him in any enterprise he should undertake.

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Lewis was himself of too active a temper to suffer them to remain long without employment. It was of the utmost consequence, he knew, towards the success of that expedition on which his brother was about to enter, as well as of the French invasion of the Netherlands, to acquire possession early of some fortified town in the frontier provinces. With this view he had maintained a secret correspondence with some of the inhabitants of Mons; and he made himself master of that im-

portant city by the following stratagem.

Having left the confines of France, he arrived

in the evening with five hundred horse and a thou- ROOK fand musqueteers at a wood in the neighbourhood of Mons, whence he fent forward ten or twelve of his foldiers, whom he felected on account of their superior address and resolution. They entered Mons in the evening, and lodged together in the same inn. They gave out that they were dealers in wine; informed their hoft, that their fervants were bringing a quantity of that liquor. and inquired at what hour the gate of the city, by which it was to be brought in, would be opened. They were told, that, for a fmall reward, the keeper would open it at any time. And early next morning, having bribed the keeper to open it, they feized upon the keys, and dispersed the guards. Count Lewis, who was at hand with a hundred horse, immediately rushed in, and having taken possession of the gate, with a part of his troops, he traversed the principal streets of the city with the rest, and proclaimed to the inhabitans, that he was not come as an enemy, but as a friend; and that the prince of Orange was approaching with a powerful army, to affert their liberty, and to deliver them from all those oppresfive taxes which had been imposed upon them by the duke of Alva.

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All the citizens still remained within their houfes, except a few who were privy to his defign; but he began to grow uneasy when he reflected on the small number of men that were with him, and to wonder that the rest of his troops were not come forward. It was to no purpose, he knew, to

1572.

BOOK XI, 1572.

attempt keeping possession of so great a town with so small a force. He rode out therefore as fast as he could towards the place where he had left his troops, who had loft their way, and were wandering in the wood. He conducted them immediately to the city; not without anxiety, lest he should find the gate shut against him on his return. But fuch was the consternation of the citizens, and their ignorance of what had paffed, that none of them had ventured to ftir without their houses. The gate was still open, and every thing in the town as quiet and motionless as when he lest it. He then placed his guards at the feveral gates, and on the ramparts; and calling the magistrates together, explained to them his own, and his brother's defigns; giving them the strongest afforances that no violence should be committed by his foldiers. After which he commanded fuch of the citizens as he could not trust, to deliver up their arms; and ordered all of them to proceed as formerly in the pursuit of their customary occupations. His troops did not amount to more than fifteen hundred men; but he foon acquired a much greater force by the accession of many protestants, who hastened to his assistance from Picardy and Champaign ?.

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The loss of Mons affected the duke of Alva in the most fensible manner; and it gave him the greater uneasiness and concern, as it was altogether

Bentivoglio, p. 95. Meursi Auriacus, p. 79. Meteren, p. 96.

XI. 1572,

unexpected. Being no stranger to count Lewis's BOOK enterprifing genius, he had kept an anxious eye upon all his motions, during his abode in France; especially after the peace of St. Germains, and the kind reception he had met with from the king. The latest account which he had received of him from his spies at Paris was, that he was playing at tennis; by which piece of intelligence, they meant to infinuate that he was more attentive to amusement, than to any ferious pursuit. When the duke therefore was informed of his fuccess at Mons, he discovered the utmost impatience and chagrin. In the rage which it excited in him, throwing down his hat, and trampling upon it, " I have been deceived," he cried, "by a Tuscan woman (meaning Catherine of Medicis), but ere long, instead of Tuscan lilies, she shall feel the fmart of Spanish thorns."

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His vexation was much increased by his knowledge of the great importance of the place which he had loft. He considered that Mons was not only the capital of the province of Hainault, but one of the largest and most populous cities in the Low Contries; that, being fituated in a marshy foil, it might eafily be rendered impregnable; that although it was not in the line of the barrier towns, yet it was removed at fo small a distance from the frontier, that the possession of it must greatly far cilitate the entrance of foreign troops into the provinces; and that either the French king, whose conduct had for some time past had so hostile an

3572.

OOK appearance, or the prince of Orange, could eafily

XI. furnish it with supplies.

These considerations made him resolve to attempt the recovery of it without delay, but while he was making the preparations necessary for this purpose, he received intelligence of the revolution in Holland; and at the same time was informed, that the prince of Orange, having already collected a numerous army, was about to begin his march. Alva, far from shrinking at the view of To many impending dangers, exerted himself with great activity and vigor to repel them. He carried on his levies with the utmost diligence, and in a very short time found himself possessed of between five and fix thousand German horse and eighteen thousand foot of the same nation; besides fifty companies of Spaniards, and one hundred and fifty of Walloons, and other natives of the Netherlands. He would gladly have fent a part of these forces to recover the revolted cities in the maritime provinces, and the rest to the siege of Mons; but when he reflected on the difficulty which he must encounter in either of these two enterprises, he apprehended that his army, numerous as it was, could not with fafety be divided. He refolved therefore to employ it, whole and entire, against his enemies on one hand of him, before he should turn it to the other.

Still, however, he remained in great perplexity, finding it difficult to determine whether it was most expedient to begin with the siege of Mons, or the recovery of the maritime provinces. And to affist him in deciding this important question, he

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called a council of his principal officers; when the marquis of Vitelli, one of the first in rank, as well as in military merit, advised him earnestly to begin with the latter, and supported his opinion by observing, "That although the interior provinces were liable to be invaded from the fide of France or Germany, yet it would not be difficult to recover whatever cities should be lost in those provinces, as the inhabitants were in general more loyal than those of Holland and Zealand, and much less infected with the spirit of innovation in religion. That the Huguenots under count Lewis were destitute of means to support themselves, and must soon be dispersed; for he could not be persuaded that the French king, who had hitherto shown so much zeal for the true religion, would ever debase himself so far, as to favor the attempts of his rebellious fubiects to subvert it. The German forces under the prince of Orange, undisciplined and tumultuary, were actuated in their present warfare, by no other motives but those of pay and plunder. And if they were disappointed in their expectation of thefe, there was little ground to doubt that they would chuse rather to return home, after taking vengeance on their leaders, than expose themselves to the fatigue and danger of belieging towns and fortresses. We may therefore, without anxiety," continued he, "put off the fiege of Mons, and the defence of the inland frontier, till a more convenient feason shall arrive. But the state of the maritime provinces admits not of the leaft. delay. The people there are univerfally infected

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with herefy. They have conceived a degree of phrenzy, and indulged themselves in the most extravagant excesses against the church and the king. Their fituation, strong by nature, will foon be rendered impregnable. Every passage of a river and canal will require an army, to force it, and every fiege, a campaign, to finish it. By the fea, and by the rivers, they can be always richly furnished with provisions; they can every hour receive fuccour from France, Germany, or England; and will be able, by their naval force, to prevent the king's army from receiving supplies from Spain. It is there too, the prince of Orange, for many years, was governor. There he possesses several large estates; and he has formed there numerous and close connexions with persons of the greatest influence in the country. As it was in these provinces he first erected the standard of rebellion, it is in them he intends to fix the feat of that usurped dominion which he is so ambitious to maintain. Let us attack our enemy first in his strong hold; and when we have driven him from thence, we shall find it much easier to prevent him from estab. lishing himself in any other quarter."

Such were the reasons which Vitelli gave for advising the duke of Alva to postpone the siege of Mons; and, if his advice had been followed, it is probable that the republic of the United Provinces would never have been formed. The people had not yet had time to put the cities into a proper state of defence; and they could not have long resisted so great a force as the duke of Alva might

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have employed to subdue them. Amsterdam and Middleburgh were still unshaken in their allegiance. With the ships belonging to these two wealthy cities, and those which he would have received from Spain, a fleet might have been equipped superior to that of the protestants; who must have been soon reduced to the necessity of submitting to whatever terms Philip might have thought fit to impose.

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No fuch pernicious consequences as those which were foretold by Vitelli, could have followed from allowing the enemy to remain for some time in possession of Mons; nor even from the conquest which the prince of Orange might have made of other places. In an open country, such as the interior provinces, the fate of towns must depend entirely on the number and discipline of the armies employed to attack or defend them; and in both these respects, the duke of Alva had reason to believe that he would be at all times able to maintain his superiority; especially if, by first reducing the maritime provinces, he could keep open his communication by sea with Spain.

But it is infinitely easier for men to judge concerning matters of such nice deliberation, after the event has happened, than when they are about to enter upon action. It ought to be considered, that Alva had not yet experienced the difficulties attending the siege of towns, situated in a country so much intersected by the sea, by tivers, and canals, as the maritime provinces; and could not foresee those amazing exertions which the people BOOK Xt. B O O K XI.

made, first in their preparations for war, and after. wards in the defence of their cities when attacked. He had likewife reason to entertain suspicions of the hostile intentions of the French king. He dreaded the havock which would be made by the army of the prince of Orange, in the richer and more fertile provinces; and thought it would bring an indelible stain upon his honor, if he did not endeavour to prevent it. Besides these motives. it is not improbable, confidering the natural violence of his temper, that he was in some degree influenced, in the resolution which he formed, by his personal jealousy of the prince of Orange, and his defire of disappointing a second time the attempts of one who had formerly rivalled him in the favor of his prince.

The flege of Mons.

Whatever were his motives, he refolved to begin his operations with the fiege of Mons; and to delay the reduction of Holland till he should disengage himself from his enemies on the southern frontier. In order to increase the number of his forces, he commanded the garrisons of Rotterdam and Delstshaven, the only towns in Holland in which he had any garrisons left, to join him; and immediately sent off his son Frederic de Toledo, accompanied by Noircharmes and Vitelli, with a part of the troops, to form the blockade of Mons.

The inhabitants of that city, though suspicious at first of count Lewis's intention, were now well satisfied with his government, and were solicitous to provide for their defence against the Spaniards. They assisted him with great alacrity in completing

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their fortifications. They were active in laying in military stores and provisions; and having repeatedly fallied out for this purpose, after Toledo's arrival in their neighbourhood, they had feveral

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Lewis had, some time before, sent the Sieur de Jenlis to Paris, to inform the king of his fuccess. and to folicit the fpeedy march of the troops which he had promifed to fend to his affiftance. Charles received Jenlis in the most gracious manner, affected to be extremely happy with the accounts which he had brought him, and gave him authority to levy forces; hoping that, before they could take the field, he would be able to put an end to the scene of dissimulation which he had so long been acting. But the admiral, who was allowed to exercise an unlimited power in the administration, pushed forward the levies with greater vigor than the king intended; and, in a few weeks. Jenlis was ready to fet out with between four and five thousand foot and four hundred horse. The admiral and count Lewis concurred in advifing him to direct his march by the way of Cambray, that he might avoid being intercepted by the enemy, and join the army of the prince of Orange. But Jenlis refused to comply with this wholesome counsel. He vainly hoped to be able, with his own forces alone, to oblige the Spaniards to quit the fiege; and he wished to secure this honor to himself, rather than leave it to be reaped by the prince of Orange. Notice was fent privately to Toledo, from the court of France, of the route VOL. II.

BOOK XI. 1572,

BOOK XI. 18

which he was to take, and of the time of his departure. Toledo immediately drew off his forces from the blockade, and advanced to meet him on the frontier; being desirous to engage at a distance from the town, lest count Lewis should fally out, and attack the Spaniards in the rear, when they were engaged in battle with Jenlis. Toledo had reached a village called St. Ghislain, at the distance of a few miles from Mons, when he was informed that the enemy had entered a neighbouring wood, and that upon their coming out from it he might attack them with great advantage. He ordered his cavalry to march first, and followed as fast as he was able with the infantry. The cavalry had almost reached the borders of the wood, when they perceived a hundred of the enemy's horse that had been sent before to reconnoitre. These the Spaniards instantly attacked, and drove back into the wood, purfuing them closely till they reached the main army, which was thrown into confusion by the precipitate flight of the fugitives. In a very little time the whole Spanish army arrived, and began the attack, before Jenlis had time to draw up his men in order of battle. The French made refistance, however, for two hours with great bravery; but at last they gave way, and endeavoured to fave themselves by flight. Upwards of twelve hundred fell on the field, and many were killed in the pursuit, partly by the Spaniards, and partly by the country people, who took cruel vengeance for the injuries which they had received from them in their march. Jenlis

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himself was taken prisoner, and conducted to the BOOK citadel of Antwerp; where, having died fuddenly, his death was ascribed to poison. The loss sustained by the Spanish army was inconsiderable.

1572.

Toledo returned to Mons in a few days after Alva's arrival this distinguished victory; and soon after the duke before Mons. of Alva arrived. The cautious general having drawn a double trench and rampart round his army, by which it was rendered secure on one fide against the fallies of the befreged, and on the other. against any sudden attack that might be made upon it by the prince of Orange, he immediately erected several batteries, and began his fire in different quarters with great fury. The belieged discovered no less vigor in their defence; which was conducted with great prudence, as well as the most indefatigable activity, by count Lewis, feconded in all his operations by the celebrated La Noue, who had gained distinguished renown in the civil wars of France.

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But although the befieged displayed the utmost Arrival of skill and intrepidity, they had no hopes of being the prince of Orange in the able to raise the siege, without the assistance of the Netherlands. prince of Orange. William had already penetrated into the Low Countries, and advanced as far as Ruremond. There he stopped, and demanded a supply of provisions for his troops. The government of the town was in the hands of zealous catholics, who not only rejected his request, but accompanied their refusal with a degree of haughtiness and insolence, by which the prince and his army were highly exasperated. There were many

XI.

of the citizens, however, with whom he had formerly held intelligence. Having at this time renewed his correspondence with them, he made a brisk attack upon one of the gates. The catholics fustained it with spirit; but while they were thus employed, the protestant inhabitants snatched the opportunity, and introduced the affailants by another gate into the city. It was not then in the power of the prince of Orange to restrain the fury of his foldiers. They plundered many of the citizens, violated the churches, and put to death, with great barbarity, feveral priests, and other religionists. By some popish historians, William himself has been blamed on account of these enormities. But these writers seem neither to have known that he published an edict to prevent them, nor to have confidered, that as he could not but perceive that violent measures were calculated to hurt his cause, by alienating the affections of the people in other cities, so his conduct, on innumerable other occasions, furnishes the strongest proof of his utter aversion to all cruelty and outrage.

William's acquisition of Ruremond was of great importance, as it put him in possession of a commodious passage over the Maese; he therefore lest a garrison to defend it, and hastened forwards to Hainault. The citizens of Mechlin having been gained over to his interest by the Sieur de Dorp, opened their gates to receive him. There he likewise lest a garrison. The citizens of Louvain resused to admit him within their walls; but, on his preparing Sta Th mo

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XI. 1572.

to employ force, they confented to grant him a BOOK contribution; of which he accepted, in order to fave the time which the fiege would have cost him. Nivelle, Diest, Sichem, Tillemont, and several other towns surrendered to him; some through fear and others through the affection which they bore to his cause or person. Dendremond and Oudenarde were taken by furprise, and great irregularities were committed by the foldiers in both these places, especially in the latter, where notwithstanding their leader's prohibition, they once more indulged that ungovernable fury with which their bigotry inspired them against the ecclesiastics of the Romish communion.

William made his stay at each of these places as fhort as possible. He did not, however, arrive in Hainault till the beginning of September, when his army amounted to more than twenty thousand men.

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So great an army could not be supported long without more ample funds than he possessed. The States of Holland had fent him a confiderable fum. The exiles had transmitted to him a part of the money that role from their captures. His other friends had raifed contributions proportioned to their abilities. But fo great had been the expense of levying, equipping, and maintaining his troops, and fuch immense fums had been laid out in purchafing artillery and military stores, that he had occasion still for all the supplies which had been promifed him by the court of France.

But his hopes of relief from that quarter were now utterly extinguished. The plan of treachery

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No. XI. two years, with a degree of perseverance as well as of dissimulation that has not its parallel in history, was at this time brought to a conclusion. The artifices employed to delude the protestant leaders had at length succeeded, and they were almost all caught in the net which had been pre-

pared for their destruction.

The admiral had remained at court for several months, during which time Charles gave him every day fresh marks of affection and esteem. That deceitful monarch had shown likewise a particular attachment to the admiral's friends, and was perpetually furrounded with them at council, in his own apartments, and when he went abroad. With his permission, the admiral had left Paris, and gone to Chatillon, where he staid for some time to fettle his private affairs. This indulgence was calculated to create in him the most assured confidence; fince it could hardly be supposed, that if the king had intended him any harm, by enticing him to court, he would have allowed him to depart from it. To fuch a height was the admiral's fecurity now rifen, that when Charles expressed his desire of having all grounds of enmity between him and the Guises removed, he readily consented that they should come to Paris, and agreed to refer the feveral points of difference between himself and them to the king's decision. In a few days after, the duke of Guise arrived, attended by a numerous train of dependants; and a formal reconciliation was made in presence of the king. But it

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to his Befme duke out ti foon appeared how little fincerity there was on one fide, in the professions which were uttered on that occasion.

BOOK XI.

As a prelude to the final catastrophe, the queen of Navarre, a princefs who by her spirit and magnanimity had long been formidable to the catholics, died, after a short illness, which was generally ascribed to poison. And an attempt was made, by a partifan of Guife, to affassinate the admiral. By this last event the protestants were greatly alarmed; but the king and queen mother, by redoubling their diffimulation, and affuming. with confummate artifice, the appearance of deep concern for what had happened, prevented the admiral from suspecting them to have been prive to it, and diverted him and the other protestant leaders from forming any vigorous refolution of providing for their fafety. They were all found therefore defenceless and unprepared.

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In that horrid scene which passed on the night of the twenty-sourth of August, the duke of Guise was the principal actor. But his savage spirit quickly disfused itself into every breast; and no catholic declined to assist him in the execution of his bloody purpose. The admiral, to whom, not many days before, he had pledged his friendship, was among the first who fell a sacrifice to his sury. This great man died with a fortitude and tranquillity suitable to his character. "Young man," said he to La Besme, (who was sent into his apartment by the duke of Guise, while Guise himself remained without till the deed was perpetrated) "you ought to

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BOOK XI. reverence grey hairs; but proceed to the execution of your defign; you can shorten my life but a very little." While he was saying this, the assassing plunged his sword into his breast. At the same time all his domestics and friends were murdered; among whom was the brave Guerchy, his lieutenant, and his son-in-law, the amiable Teligny, who had won even the savage heart of Charles, and whose engaging aspect suspended for some time the listed hands of his murderers. But it does not belong to this history to enter more particularly into the detail of this transaction. Upwards of ten thousand protestants were massacred in Paris alone; and in the other cities of the kingdom, between fifty and sixty thousand.

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Of this horrid massacre the first idea is said to have been suggested to the queen mother by Philip, through the duke of Alva, at conferences held at Bayonne in one thousand five-hundred and fifty-nine; and it is certain, that intelligence of it was received at Madrid with the utmost joy. Philip offered public thanksgiving to heaven for the destruction of his enemies; and wrote to Charles a congratulatory letter on the subject. On the other hand, it filled the protestants in the Low Countries with horror and consternation. Their hopes of obtaining deliverance from the Spanish yoke, through the powerful aid of France, had been raised to the greatest height, and their dejection now was in proportion to their former expectations.

Nothing could be more galling to the prince of Orange than the news of this disaster. Besides the

cruel disappointment of finding a powerful monarch his mortal enemy, whom he had fo much reason to believe to be his friend, he knew not what dangerous effect this unexpected revolution might produce upon his troops, especially as some of them were subjects of France, and had entered into his fervice, under a belief that their king was to support them in their present enterprise.

Perceiving therefore the necessity of pushing for- Operations of ward his operations with the utmost vigor, and being perfuaded, that, without fome fignal instance of fuccess, he could not long support his army, he advanced without delay towards Mons; being refolved to try every expedient, not only to raife the fiege, but if possible to bring on a general engagement.

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The duke easily penetrated into his design, and omitted nothing in his power to prevent him from carrying it into execution. After the arrival of feveral German auxiliaries in his camp, his army was fuperior in number, as it had always been in discipline, to that of the prince; and he could not have much reason to dread the event of a battle, in case he should find it unavoidable. But knowing that the fate of battles is decided sometimes by accidents, against which no human prudence can provide; and confidering, that the prince's army. through the scantiness of his funds, would probably foon fall to pieces of itself, he resumed the principles on which he had acted in the time of William's former expedition, and refolved to avoid exposing his troops to any unnecessary risk; hoping, that, by tiring out the enemy, he should be able to triumph

BOOK XI. 19720

the prince of

BOOK XI. 1572. over them without fighting. With this view, while he invested the town on every side, and prevented any supplies from being thrown into it, he intrenched his camp so strongly, as to render it entirely impracticable for the prince of Orange to force his lines. He fortisted the several passes by which the town might be approached in the strongest manner; watched over every operation himself, with indefatigable attention; and forbade his men to engage in the slightest skirmish with the enemy, whatever provocation they might receive.

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After having taken these precautions, he sent out five hundred horse to reconnoitre. They were met by nearly the same number of German horse, commanded by count Henry, William's youngest brother, who being ambitious to distinguish himself in this his first campaign, attacked the Spaniards with uncommon sury, and after killing many of them, broke their ranks, and drove them back in great consuson. The prince himself followed soon afterwards with all his army, and drew it up in battle array before the duke of Alva's camp.

But Alva, more determined than ever fince the repulse of the cavalry to adhere to his plan, kept all his men within their intrenchments. The prince of Orange omitted nothing in his power to induce him to change his purpose. He shifted his ground, intercepted the convoys of provisions, attacked the foragers, and sent out parties on every side, with a view to entice the enemy to quit their lines.

There were perfons in the Spanish camp who condemned their general's conduct on this occasion,

and exhorted him to put to proof that courage of which the enemy were fo extremely oftentatious. Among these was the archbishop of Cologne '. whose ardent spirit breathed nothing but war and battle, and who could not relish those cautious maxims by which the duke of Alva had resolved to regulate his conduct. Alva remained equally firm against the importunities of his friends, and the arts that were practifed by the enemy. It was a maxim often in his mouth, that as all human events are precarious, the most precarious of all is a battle: to which he added, that it ought not to be the aim of a general to fight, but to overcome: and that there were other means by which this aim might be accomplished more effectually than by fighting.

But although his conduct was not approved by the archbishop of Cologne, he had the satisfaction to know that it gave the deepest uneasiness to the prince of Orange; who perceived, that if an opportunity did not offer soon of striking some important blow, by which he might raise the siege, it would not be possible for him to keep his army together. His sinances did not enable him to bring provisions from a distance, and all the country round had been plundered by the Spaniards. Being driven therefore to despair, he made a bold effort to break through the enemy's intrenchments; but this adventurous attempt, which nothing could

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The count of Isenburg.

BOOK XI. 1572. justify but the urgent motive that incited him, was attended with such an issue as he had reason to expect. His men were bravely repulsed, and a considerable loss sustained.

He now relinquished all hopes of either raising the fiege, or forcing an engagement; and he resolved to leave Hainault, after attempting to introduce fuch supplies into the town as might enable the garrison to hold out till winter, when the duke of Alva would be obliged to retire. For this purpose, he made choice of two thousand horse and one thousand foot, the flower of his army. There was only a fingle pass by which they could have access to the town, and at that place Alva had built a strong fort, of which he committed the defence to a felect body of Spanish troops, under the command of Sancho d'Avila and Julio Romero. Notwithstanding this precaution, which left hardly a possibility of success, the troops destined for the relief of Mons advanced towards the pass with the utmost intrepidity. Romero and D'Avila received them with equal intrepidity; and were feconded by the guns of the fort. The combat was hot and furious. There was a brisk cannonading during the time of it from the two armies, and from the town; but the fire from the fort did the greatest execution; and the Germans, after several hundreds of their number had fallen, were at last obliged to abandon their attempt.

The prince is obliged to leave Hainault.

The prince of Orange, now convinced of the impossibility of relieving the besieged in opposition to so powerful an army, immediately decamped.

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The duke of Alva followed him next day with BOOK most of his forces, and in every movement discovered the most consummate skill; so that he at once prevented the prince from returning towards Mons, and avoided being reduced himself to the necessity of fighting. It was not long before he learned that there was not the same good order in the prince's army, which had hitherto been obferved in it. William's authority over his troops had fuffered greatly by the failure of his late attempts; and he was unable any longer to maintain that perfect discipline, without which no army, however numerous, can be formidable.

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Alva readily embraced the opportunity which this circumstance afforded him. Having taken a view in person of the enemy's quarters, he resolved to attack them in the night. He committed the charge of this enterprise to Julio Romero, and gave him two thousand chosen infantry, who were ordered to be ready to march in the middle of the night, each with a shirt over his armour, to enable them to distinguish one another. They fell with great fury on the Germans, who were stationed to guard the camp; and as most of them were fast afleep, they made dreadful havock among them, till the alarm was communicated to the rest, who were foon roused by the groans and shrieks of the wounded. At first, believing that the whole Spanish army had attacked them, they fled precipitately. The affailants had in the beginning fet fire to the tents, and many of the Germans perished in the flames. But this circumstance, by

1572.

which the horror of the scene was augmented, BOOK faved the German army from destruction. It dis-XI. 1572, covered the number of the Spaniards, and made it easier for the prince of Orange to draw up his men, and to know in what quarter he might find the enemy. But the affailants, perceiving that the whole camp was up in arms, made their retreat in time, and eluded the vengeance which they faw approaching. By the favor of the night they escaped with little loss, after having put to the

fword near five hundred of the Germans.

The consequences of this disaster were more pernicious to the prince of Orange than the difaster itself. It filled his troops with consternation, and gave them a formidable idea of the Spaniards, whom, on account of their having fo often declined fighting, they had been accustomed to despise. Without waiting for orders, they hastily decamped with one confent, and left a part of their baggage a prey to the enemy. They had not candor to acknowledge that the misfortune which had befallen them on the preceding night was owing to their negligence in obeying orders. They were disposed to throw the blame of it upon their general, and began to complain, that instead of enriching them with spoil, he had brought them into the Low Countries, only to expose them to perpetual hardships and distress. He found means, however, at this time, to quiet their minds, and in some measure to rectify their opinion of his conduct.

The duke of Alva was on this occasion urged

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by his officers to purfue the prince till he should drive him entirely out of the Netherlands; but he repeated the old maxim, That it is wifer to make a bridge for a flying enemy, than to reduce them to despair; and returned to the fiege.

The prince of Orange led his troops to Mechlin; He disbands and having remained there for some days to recruit them after their fatigue, he continued his march northwards, till he had brought them as far as Orloy in the dutchy of Cleves. At that place their ill-humor broke out afresh with greater violence than ever, and they began to hold private meetings, in which they deliberated, whether, in order to procure payment of their arrears, they should not deliver him up to the duke of Alva. The principal officers received this ungenerous propofal with horror and indignation. They were convinced that the prince had done every thing that could have been done by a general of the most consummate abilities. They knew that he had begun his enterprise with the highest probability of success, and that his failure in it had been almost entirely owing to the treacherous dealings of the French king; by trusting to whom, he had engaged in a very different plan of operations from that which he would otherwise have adopted. By these confiderations the officers were entirely fatisfied; and through their influence, the common foldiers were persuaded to relinquish their perfidious design. The army was immediately difbanded; and William fet out for Holland, where the people longed for his arrival.

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The furrenden of Mons.

His retreat from Mons gave his brother, count Lewis, who was naturally of a fanguine temper, the deepest affliction. And this, joined to the extreme fatigue which he had undergone for feveral months before, threw him into a violent distemper. which prevented him for fome time from attending to the fiege. But during his confinement La Noue conducted the defence with fo much skill and intrepidity, that Alva, despairing of being able before winter to take the town by force, was willing to agree to fuch terms of capitulation, as count Lewis thought it not dishonorable to accept. were, that the French, count Lewis, the Flemish nobility, and all who were not inhabitants of the place, should leave it with their arms and baggage; and that fuch of the inhabitants as had borne arms might leave it with their effects, but not their arms. That fuch of them as were catholics might remain in the town unmolested; but that all the protestants should not only depart from the town, but from the Netherlands; and that all persons, whether citizens or foreigners, should take an oath, that they would not carry arms for the space of a year, either against the king of France or the king of Spain, from which oath count Lewis alone was exempted. This capitulation was figned by the dukes of Alva and Medina-Coeli, by Frederic de Toledo, and the baron de Noircharmes; and all the conditions of it were punctually fulfilled.

Enormities of the Spaniards at Mechlin. In this manner was Mons recovered from the protestants, after it had been more than three months in their possession. The duke of Alva selt

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no anxiety with regard to the recovery of the BOOK cities which had received the prince of Orange. They were neither strongly fortified nor sufficiently provided with garrisons to defend them. The first against which he turned his arms was Mechlin; and he ordered his fon to lead thither the Spanish troops, who having received no pay for fome. time, advanced like so many famished wolves, with a resolution to satiate their rapacity by plun-

dering the inhabitants.

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On their arrival, the garrison which had been left in the town by the prince of Orange feemed determined to make relistance; but finding the citizens averse from co-operating with them, and despairing of being able, without their assistance. to hold out long, they deferted the place in the night; and next morning all the priests and ecclesiastics went in solemn procession to Toledo's tent. to deprecate his vengeance. When they were pleading the cause of the unhappy anxious inhabitants, and reprefenting that only a small number of them had been guilty, while by far the greatest part had preserved their allegiance; the soldiers; apprehensive that Toledo might listen to this apology, and disappoint them of their prey, rushed forward to the city, and broke into it, some by the gates, and others, by the help of scaling ladders, over the walls. Then spreading themselves like a deluge, they gave a loofe to every species of violence; butchering fome, and plundering all without mercy. There was no distinction made of age, fex, or condition. Virgins and matrons Vol. II.

BOOK XI. 1572. were violated before the eyes of their parents and husbands. The churches and convents were pillaged as well as private houses; and the nuns were not exempted from that brutal lust and sury, which the Spaniards indulged without control.

Justified by the duke of Alva.

The duke of Alva was fensible how great an odium must attend such a barbarous treatment of a city, which had hitherto been distinguished for its fidelity; yet he chose to justify what had been done, and in a few days afterwards published a manifesto, in which he declared, that the citizens had fuffered no more than their rebellion had deferved; that justice was not yet entirely satisfied; that their crime merited a still feverer punishment, than barely to be deprived of their effects; and that other cities which had already imitated, or should afterwards imitate, their example, might expect, fooner or later, to meet with the same fate. Of the facrilege that had been committed on the churches and convents, and the shocking treatment of the weaker fex, no mention was made in the manifesto, and no excuse was ever offered for passing over these enormities with impunity. Great arrears. faid the apologists of Alva, were at that time due to the foldiers; and, as he could not fatisfy them, he either thought it reasonable to allow them to take a compensation for their pay; or, being well acquainted with their ferocious tempers, he was afraid to exercise his authority. The Spanish foldiers themselves, though little scrupulous with respect to crimes contrary to the laws of nature, justice and humanity, were afterwards, agreeably

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to the character of their nation, touched with remorfe BOOK on account of their violation of the churches; and in order to atone for their guilt, they hearkened to the dictates of fuperstition, and laid out a portion of their plunder in building a house for the jesuits in Antwerp .

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missed his German horse, went from thence to Brus- the Spanifels, while the Spaniards were permitted to remain phen. at Mechlin for feveral days, which they employed in collecting their plunder, and fending it off in boats to Antwerp, to be exposed to sale. Toledo then led them against the other cities which had received German garrifons. These garrifons fled on his approach; and the people agreed to pay exorbitant contributions to fave their cities from being facked: nor did he meet with any opposition in his progress, till he came to Zutphen, which was at that time a place of confiderable strength. It was defended with a wall flanked with bastions, and furrounded with a deep ditch. The Issel walhes the fortifications on one side, the Berkel on another; and the ground on the other two fides is fo extremely wet and marshy as to render the place,

Alva having gone to Maestricht, where he dif- Cruelty of

for the greatest part of the year almost inaccessible.

But unfortunately for the protestants in garrison,

they could not avail themselves of these advanta-

ges at this juncture; the frost having fet in with

uncommon feverity feveral days before the arrival

of Toledo. He found no difficulty therefore in

Meteren, p. 107. Campana, p. 97. Bentivoglio, p. 114.

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approaching the place with his batteries, and he foon made a breach in the wall. He was preparing for an affault, when he received intelligence, that the garrison, and all such as had rendered themselves obnoxious, had gone out of the town by the opposite gate; and that the citizens who remained were now, when left at liberty to act agreeably to their inclination, willing immediately to furrender at discretion. But Toledo having, by the small resistance which the garrison had made, got a pretext for plundering this unhappy people, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, and ordered his troops to advance. They entered the town without opposition, and repeated there the same shocking barbarities which they had exercised in Mechlin, with this difference, that as there was much less booty in Zutphen, to fatisfy their rapacity, they indulged their cruelty so much the more. They put to the sword all the citizens who fell in their way, men and women without distinction, and when they were tired with flaughtering, they cast great numbers into the Isfel, and indulged themselves in the horrid joy of beholding the unhappy fufferers perish in the stream. By the fword and water, above five hundred perished; and the rest were obliged to redeem their lives by the most oppressive contributions, which were fo cruelly exacted, that the living had reason to envy the fate of those whom death had delivered from fuch intolerable mifery '.

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Meteren, p. 110. Bentivoglio, p. 115. Meursii

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WHILE the Spanish army was employed in the fiege of Mons, and in fubduing the other revolted towns in the fouthern provinces, the people of Holland and Zealand improved the leifure which was afforded them, by taking every precaution in their power to fecure themselves from being again reduced under the Spanish yoke. They increased the number of their ships of war, completed their fortifications, and levied fo great a number of forces, as, with the great advantages of their fituation, they hoped would be sufficient for their defence.

Before the duke of Alva fet out for Mons, he Philip paffes had, agreeably to orders transmitted to him from Spain, read, in presence of the States of Brabant, 10th and Artois, Hainault, and Flanders, a declaration, that 20th penny, he would pass from the taxes of the tenth and

BOOK XII. 1572. Transactions in Holland and

from the taxes of the BOOK. XII. twentieth pennies, on condition that the States would devise some other means by which the money necessary for the king's service might be raised. Intimation was made of this concession to the States of Holland, by the count of Bossut; who, in the name of the governor, commanded them to assemble at the Hague, to consider of what other taxes they would substitute in the room of those which had been formerly imposed.

His conceffion difregarded by the States.

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This concession, which, if it had been made fooner, might have prevented the revolt of the maritime provinces, was not attended with the defired effect. It excited in the minds of the people the highest degree of joy and exultation; but they did not think themselves indebted for it, either to the king or the duke of Alva. They afcribed it wholly to the dread that was entertained of the prince of Orange, to whom alone they thought themselves bound for this first instance of attention that had been shown to their inclination or interest fince Philip's accession to the throne. They could not doubt, that if his apprehensions of the German army were removed, Alva would be again permitted to resume the pursuit of that plan of tyranny which he had been obliged to suspend. They were well acquainted with the vindictive spirit which animated Philip's counsels. They knew that, for much flighter offences than those of which they had been guilty, many thousands of their countrymen had suffered the most cruel death; and they believed, that whatever affurances might be given them of pardon, the memory of their guilt would

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never be extinguished but in their blood. By the unrelenting cruelty which had been exercifed against the protestants, added to the contempt which had been shown to their fundamental rights and laws, the people were entirely alienated from Philip's person and government. They were convinced that he had resolved to treat them henceforth, not as subjects but as flaves; and they had long repined

and murmured at their fate.

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From the time of Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, all the protestants who had escaped from the cruelty of the inquisitors, had carefully concealed their fentiments, and conformed to the established worship; but having of late received a great increase of number, by the return of many of the exiles, they had thrown off the mask; and it now appeared, that by far the greatest part of the inhabitants, and even of the deputies of the States, were strongly attached to the reformed religion. Their religious zeal co-operated with their abhorrence of the Spanish tyranny; and both together inspired them with a fixed unalterable purpose to defend their liberty to the last.

Prompted by these motives, the States paid no They meet regard to the order for affembling at the Hague, at Dort. transmitted to them by Bossut; and that they might the more strongly express their contempt of the governor's authority, they appointed an affembly to be held at Dort. Of this affembly they gave early notice to the prince of Orange, and entreated him to fend one of his most faithful friends, properly instructed, to affist them in their

BOOK XII. 1573.

ROOK XII. 1574. deliberations. The person whom the prince made choice of for this purpose, was the Sieur de St. Aldegonde, the author of the compromise, who had long been well acquainted with William's most secret views and sentiments.

and enter into engagements with the prince of Grange,

St. Aldegonde readily undertook the talk imposed upon him; and at the first meeting of the States, gave them thanks in the name of the prince, for the intimation which they had fent him, of their resolution to vindicate their liberty under his direction. "The prince was conscious. he faid, of being feriously interested in the welfare of all the provinces, and of none more than those of Holland and Zealand, which for feveral years had been the objects of his particular attention. From time to time he had heard with indignation and grief, of the diftrefs and mifery to which they had been reduced through the Spanish tyranny; and there was nothing which he defired more ardently, than to be instrumental in recovering for them those invaluable rights, which for ages past had proved the fource of their prosperity. In order to accomplish this end, he had spared neither expenfe nor labor. He had failed in his former attempt for their deliverance, not (he hoped, they would believe) through any negligence or misconduct, but through the fuperior power and more copious resources of the enemy. In his present armament, he had already expended all that remained of his once ample fortune; and as in levying his army, he had trusted in a great measure to

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the affistance which they had promised him; now was the time to fulfil that promife, and to enable him to begin his military operations without delay."

1573

The States who knew the truth of what St. Aldegonde had represented, and were sensible how much the success of William's enterprise depended on his receiving an immediate fupply, fent him without delay a hundred thousand florins, which they borrowed from the more wealthy citizens; and promifed to fend him more as foon as it could be raised, either from the ordinary taxes, or from the revenues of the monasteries, which were at that time converted into a fund for carrying on the war. After this transaction, a solemn declaration in writing was delivered to St. Aldegonde, in which they engaged to acknowledge the prince of Orange as the only lawful governor or stadtholder of the province; appointed him commander in chief of all their forces by fea and land; and engaged, that without his confent, they should not listen to any terms of peace which might be offered: St. Aldegonde on the other hand, engaging in the name of the prince, that he would not lay down his arms, nor enter into any accommodation or treaty, without the knowledge and approbation of the States .

The States exerted themselves strenuously to Their dif perform their promifes of fupplies. They fent him two hundred thousand florins, which he received at

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Meursii Auriacus, p. 84.

BOOK XII. Ruremonde, in his way to Mons, and gave him fecurity for three hundred thousand. When the news was brought them of his retreat, and the necessity under which he found himself of disbanding his army, they were exceedingly dejected; and were filled with the most disquieting apprehensions, when they considered that the duke of Alva, having no enemy in the field to oppose his progress, was now at liberty to employ all his forces united, in taking vengeance on them, for their contempt of his authority.

Amfterdam adheres to the Spamiards.

Their distress was much increased by the inflexible obstinacy of the city of Amsterdam, in adhering to the Spanish interest; which did not proceed fo much from the general inclination of the citizens, as from the care which the duke of Alva had taken to preserve the government of that city in the hands of the most rigid catholics. By an order of the States, Lumey count de la Marck had belieged it with a confiderable body of troops, but after making some progress in his operations, he despaired of success, and suddenly raised the fiege. He ascribed the miscarriage of his attempt to the negligence of the States, in supplying him with provisions. The States on the other hand, threw the blame entirely upon the count. They had been for some time past extremely disfatisfied with his conduct, on account of the cruelties which he had allowed his troops to exercise against the catholics; and they believed that they should never be able to persuade the people of Amsterdam to unite with the other cities in the province, while

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their army was under the command of a person BOOK who had rendered himself so extremely obnoxious .

1573.

Loud complaints of the outrages of the foldiers outrages were heard in every quarter, and many of the peo- committed ple began to lament the revolution to which they troops. had given their confent. The States dreaded the consequences of so much ill-humor. But they were not possessed of power sufficient to remedy the abuses complained of; and la Marck, who was naturally violent and ferocious, paid no regard to their commands. In this distress they had no refource, but in the prudence and authority of the prince of Orange; who, they hoped, would, notwithstanding his late misfortunes, be able to repress the insolence of the soldiers and their general. They fent him notice of the critical fituation to which they were reduced; and they entreated him to come, as foon as possible, to take the government of the province, and the command of the forces, into his own hand.

William could not, either with fafety or honor, have left his army fooner than he did. From Orfey, where it was disbanded, he went, attended Holland. only by his own domestics, and a company of horse, to Campen in Overissel, and from thence he passed over the Zuider Sea to Enchuysen; where he was joyfully received, and all his directions for the greater fecurity of the place, were carried immediately into execution. After staying there for

Arrival of the prince of Orange in

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Meursii Apriacus, p. 95.

\*B O O K XII. 1572. fome days, and visiting the other towns in the province, he set out for Haerlem; having appointed a convention of the States to be held in that city, to consider of the present situation of their affairs.

His magnamimity.

His arrival excited in persons of all ranks the most unseigned joy; but this joy, he perceived, was greatly allayed by their apprehensions of being unable to refift an enemy, before whom he himfelf, at the head of a powerful army, had been obliged to retire. The first object of his attention was to raife their drooping spirits, by making them fenfible of the advantages which they poffeffed in the nature and fituation of their country; which, while they retained their superiority at sea, and acted in concert, would render abortive all the attempts of the Spaniards to reduce them. The magnanimity which he displayed diffused itself into every breaft; and the deputies unanimoufly declared, that they would be entirely governed by his counsel in all their conduct, and would lay down their lives sooner than abandon that invaluable liberty, without which they thought life itfelf was not desirable.

His moderation, and falutary regulations. In the prefent temper of their minds, William might have ruled the people of the maritime provinces with an absolute fway; but he knew there was a much safer, as well as a more effectual, method of exercising power, and wifely resolved to consult the States in every matter of importance, and to take upon himself only the execution of their commands. For this purpose he frequently

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convened them; and in order to give greater weight to their decisions, he persuaded them to admit into their number the deputies of twelve other cities, besides those of whom their affembly had been hitherto composed: a measure which was no less gracious and popular, than it was wife and prudent. It flattered the vanity of those towns on which the new privilege was bestowed; engaged them to contribute with greater alacrity their share of the public expenses; and drew the several districts of the province into a state of more intimate union with one another.

With the States, thus increased in number. the prince applied himself to rectify the disorders which had prevailed, and to put the province into a posture of defence against the Spaniards. It had been deferted during the late commotions by many of the principal inhabitants, by feveral members of the courts of justice, and by the officers of the revenue, and others who held public employments; which they had been induced to abandon, either by their attachment to popery, or their diffidence in the duration and stability of the present government. The numerous vacancies which were thus occasioned, were supplied with protestants; and no catholic was admitted into any office, or allowed to take any concern in the administration of public affairs.

The exercise of the Romish religion was prohi- Establishbited in the churches; and the only worship per. reformed mitted to be exercised publicly, was the protestant, religion. as taught by Calvin, and practifed in Geneva, and

BOOK XII. 1572.

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BOOK XII. 1572.

the Palatinate. Thus far the prince of Orange complied with the inclination of the people, by a great majority of whom the principles of the reformers had been embraced. But all persecution on account of religion, he discouraged to the utmost of his power. His reasonings for toleration were more successful now in favor of the papilts, than they had been formerly with the dutchess of Parma, in behalf of the reformers. The States, by his perfuation, refolved that no perfon whatever should be molested on account of his religion, provided that he lived quietly, kept no correspondence with the Spaniards, and gave no disturbance to the established mode of worship's.

William found greater difficulty in restraining the licentiousness of the army, than in settling either the courts of justice or the church. When we reflect on those horrid scenes which were exhibited in the Netherlands by the duke of Alva and his affociates, it will not appear furprising, that the protestants should have conceived the most violent animofity against their bloody perfecutors. They had feen their dearest relations and friends, befides many persons whom they revered on account of the innocence and fanctity of their lives, treated like the most flagitious malefactors: and many of themselves had, in order to avoid the same fate, been obliged to abandon their habitations, and to wander from place to place, forlorn and indigent. In the bitterness of their distress, they had forgotten

Grotius, p. 41. Daig has a contract of the contract as

the spirit of that religion for which they suffered; and on many occasions, wreaked their vengeance against their enemies with a brutal fury. To the Spaniards who were taken prisoners at sea, the protestants on board the fleet gave no quarter; while the ecclefiaftics, and many others whose only crime was their adherence to the religion of their ancestors, were treated by the protestant soldiers with equal inhumanity.

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1572.

The count of la Marck, commander in chief of Lumey de the forces, was fo far from opposing these enormities, that he encouraged his foldiers in committing them. This nobleman's principal virtue was intrepidity, and under the cloak of zeal for liberty and the reformed religion, he feems to have intended nothing so much as the gratification of his avarice or revenge. The prince of Orange, who from his natural humanity, and a prudent regard to future confequences, was utterly averse to every species of violence, attempted to make him fensible of the folly and iniquity of his conduct. But finding that he was not likely to succeed, and that the foldiers still indulged themselves without control in their wonted excesses, he referred the matter to the cognizance of the States, and defired them to confider coolly what was proper to be The States, who were highly incenfed against the count, for his contempt of their authority, deprived him of his command, and ordered him to be apprehended. William, unwilling to forget the services which the count had performed in the beginning of the revolt, foon after

BOOK XII. 1572.

interpoled in his behalf, and prevailed upon the States to release him. But la Marck could not digest the affront which had been offered him. He complained loudly of the States, for their ingratitude; boasted of his authority in the fleet and army; and attempted to excite a spirit of sedition among the people. The States were meditating to feize him a fecond time, in order to bring him to his trial. But the prince of Orange, prompted by tenderness for his relations, and a sense of his former services, disfuaded them from executing their design, and advised them to suffer him to leave the province. The States liftened, though with fome reluctance to this advice, and the count having left the Netherlands, died foon afterwards in the city of Liege.

The command of the forces was conferred on the count of Battenburgh; and by that Nobleman they were brought under proper discipline; and all fuch of the catholics as chose to remain in the country, delivered from those alarms and apprehenfions with which they had been hitherto difquieted. One cause of the great irregularities which had been committed by the troops, was the want of proper funds for their subfistence. The States now supplied this defect, as well as the prefent circumstances of the province would allow. To the payment of the army, and other public purposes, they appropriated the demesnes which the king had employed as count of Holland, the revenues of the Romish priests and monasteries, and the estates of all such catholics as had gone over to

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While the prince of Orange and the States were thus employed in providing for the fecurity of Holland, Frederic de Toledo had made rapid progress in reducing the towns which had revolted in the other provinces; nor did he find much difficulty in subduing them; for so great was the terror which they had conceived from his late fuccess, that of all the towns which had declared for the prince of Orange in Groningen, Overiffel, Utrecht, and Friefland, there was none that did not fend ambaffadors to Toledo, to deprecate his vengeance, and to make profession of unreserved submission to his will. He placed garrifons in the most considerable towns, and inflicted no other punishment upon the people but pecuniary fines. Had he maintained the same moderation in his conduct afterwards, he would not perhaps have encountered much greater difficulty in the recovery of some of the towns of Holland and Zealand, than he had met with in recovering those of the interior provinces; but from natural temper, he rejoiced infinitely more in rigor and feverity, than in lenity and moderation; of the truth of which he gave a fignal proof in his barbarous treatment of the inhabitants of Naerden.

This town was then neither large nor strongly fortified, yet the citizens, prompted by some foreign protestants who resided in it, were bold enough to resuse admittance to a company of

XII. 1572. Progress of

the Spanish

Massacre of the people of Naerden

<sup>\*</sup> Grotius, p. 40. Meursii Auriacus, p. 97. Vol. II.

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BOOK XII.

horse, sent by Toledo before his main army, to require their fubmission; but, having quickly repented of their rashness, they dispatched a deputation of the most respectable inhabitants, among whom was Lambertus Hortensius, a man eminent for his learning, to Amersfort, where Toledo had arrived in his way to Naerden. He declined hearing the ambassadors himself, and desired them to apply to Julio Romero, who had power, he faid, to grant them fuch terms of reconcilement as he should judge to be reasonable. By Romero, it was agreed, that the lives and fortunes of the citizens should be spared on the following conditions: That the town should be immediately delivered into the hands of Toledo; that all the inhabitants should renew their oath of allegiance to the king; and that one hundred Spanish soldiers should be permitted to feize as much booty as they could carry at one time out of the city. In ratification of this agreement, Romero, having given his right hand three feveral times to Hortenfius, entered the town, attended by fo small a number of Spaniards as banished from the minds of the citizens all apprehensions of fraud or violence; and when he fummoned them to meet in one of the churches to take the oath of allegiance, they ran thither unarmed, and prefented themselves a defenceless prey to their bloody murderers. Whether Romero acted in concert with Toledo does not appear from the cotemporary historians. This only is certain, that while the former was employed in administering the oath; the latter, who had

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brought forward his troops to the gates of the town, led them directly to the church in which the citizens were assembled, and ordering the doors which till then had been kept shut to be thrown open, he rushed into it at the head of his troops, and immediately killed with his own hand the principal magistrate. The Spaniards were not backward to imitate the example of their general. They fell with favage fury on the aftonished, defenceless citizens, and after butchering all that were in the church, spread themselves over the city, and put every person whom they met to the sword. They made no distinction between the innocent and the guilty; the catholics as well as protestants; those who had preferved their allegiance, as well as those who had thrown it off, were all involved in one promiscuous ruin. Then entering into the houses. where they found the wives and daughters of the flain overwhelmed with anguish, instead of being foftened by the fight of fo much unmerited diftress in that tender fex, their favage hearts only prompted them to indulge their avarice, their cruelty, and their luft. Even virgins under age they violated, and others they tortured in the most inhuman manner, either from a wanton pleasure which they took in cruel deeds, or to extort from the unhappy fufferers a discovery of the treasure which had belonged to their murdered husbands or parents. They strangled some, embrued their hands in the blood of others, turned all the rest out of the city into the open fields, and then throwing fire into the houses, reduced the town to ashes.

B O O K XII.

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BOOK X11.

The accounts transmitted to us by the protestant writers of the horrid cruelty which the Spaniards exercised on this occasion, would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the catholic historians. There was an hospital in the town for old men, and at that time there were feveral in it above eighty years of age; even these were butchered; nor did persons confined to the bed of fickness and distress escape their fury. The life of Lambertus Hortenfius was faved by the interposition of the count de Bossut; but the Spaniards made him suffer what was worse than death; by murdering the fon, and tearing his heart out of his body before the father's eyes. There is another instance of their cruelty recorded, which is, if possible, still more inhuman. After having tortured in the most shocking manner one of the citizens, to make him discover where he had concealed his wealth, they dishonored his wife in his prefence, and upon his reproaching them with their barbarity, they put him to death; then, having tied the woman's hands behind her, they bound her by the feet to a beam of the house, with her head downward, and left her to die in that posture, with her little fon, whom they like. wife bound and placed beside her, to aggravate the mifery of that dreadful death to which their cruelty had doomed her'.

From this horrid massacre, Toledo led his army to Amsterdam, where he remained for some time

Meursi Auriacus, p. 98. Thuanus, lib. liv. Benti-

in expectation that, from the dread of his vengeance, the other towns of the province would be induced to make a tender of their submission; but the cruelty and treachery which he had exercised at Naerden, were not more contrary to the laws of religion and humanity, than inconsistent with the maxims of sound policy, and were calculated not so much to excite terror as revenge and indignation. From the sate of Naerden the people were convinced, that there was at least as much to be dreaded from submission as from resistance, and they thought it no less absurd than dangerous, to enter into terms of agreement with men who had shown themselves so cruelly persidious.

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Of this they foon gave a conspicuous proof in their vigorous and obstinate defence of Haerlem. To gain over the inhabitants of that city, Toledo had employed the mediation of the catholics of Amsterdam, and some of the magistrates of Haerlem had fent privately three of their number to Frederic to treat with him of a furrender. This was no fooner known, than Riperda, a Friesland gentleman, to whom the prince of Orange had committed the government of the town, called together the principal inhabitants, and informed them of what had passed. " By a solemn oath," faid he, " the magistrates were lately bound not to listen, without your permission, to any propofals, or to engage in any defign or enterprife, by which the general interest of the city might be affected; yet, not only without your permission, but even without your knowledge, they have fent

B O O K XII. 1572.

Siege of Haerlem.

Riperda's Speech. BOOK XII.

an embaffy to treat with Toledo about delivering the city to the Spaniards. We are unable, they pretend, to withstand so great a force as will be brought against us, and must be involved in all the miseries of a cruel siege, unless we avert them by a timely application for peace and pardon. But have the Spaniards treated with greater lenity those who have trusted to their faith, than those who have opposed them? Have the people of Mechlin and Zutphen been dealt with more mercifully than those of Mons? Does not the melancholy fate of Naerden sufficiently instruct you how little regard is due to the promifes of those men, who have now shown themselves no less devoid of faith than we have ever found them of humanity? Are not the streets of that unhappy city still reeking with the blood of those who confided in the faith and mercy of the Spaniards? By standing on our defence we may elude their fury; but if we receive them into the city, we rush headlong upon destruction. They will either butcher us like sheep, after they have stripped us of our arms, or reduce us to a state of ignominious flavery and bondage. Do not flatter yourselves with the hopes that they are willing to be reconciled to you. They intend only to take advantage of your fimplicity, and to get you into their power, without exposing themselves to danger. Have you not already fworn to act the part to which I now exhort you, to defend your walls against the Spaniards, and to preserve your allegiance to the prince of Orange, whom you have

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acknowledged as the only lawful governor of BOOK the province? And in order to fave ourselves from the hardships of a siege, shall we imitate that vile example of treachery, which in our enemies appears fo odious? Let us derive courage, my friends, from the justness of our cause; and rather than fubmit to fuch an enemy, let us refolve to die, fighting gloriously in defence of our religion, our liberty, and laws."

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This speech was received with shouts of high applause by all the audience. They cried out with one voice, " No peace with the Spaniards; we will shed the last drop of our blood pather than open our gates to fo perfidious an enemy." Riperda then fent information to the prince of Orange, who was at this time in Delft, of the resolution which they had formed. And in return, William encouraged the citizens to persevere, by affuring them that the other cities in the province would exert themselves with vigor in their behalf. Immediately after which he reinforced the garrison with four companies of Germans; and fent St. Aldegonde with a commission to put the adminiftration of the town in the hands of fuch as were fincerely attached to the reformed religion. Of the three ambassadors who had treated with the Spaniards, one remained with Toledo, and the other two were, upon their return to Haerlem, put under arrest, and sent to Delft, where, after being tried, they were condemned as traitors. One of them died in prison, and the other was executed public-

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XII. 1572.

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of Orange was not displeased, as it tended to BOOK deter the catholics in the other cities, from hold-XII.

1572. ing correspondence with the enemy.

The news of these unexpected events excited. in the fiery tempers of Toledo, and his father, the highest degree of wrath and indignation. They immediately gave orders for the march of the troops to Haerlem, and exerted themselves strenuoully in making preparations for carrying on the fiege with dispatch and vigor.

Defcription

Haerlem was, at the time of this memorable of Haerlem. fiege, the most considerable town in Holland, next to Amsterdam. It was surrounded with a deep ditch and a strong wall, but was of so great extent, that it required a numerous garrison to defend it. It stands beautifully in the midst of an extensive plain, having a wood on one fide, and a branch of the river Sparen on the other; and the other branch of that river passes through the town, and then falls into the lake, or as it is fometimes called, the Amsterdam and Leyden are fea of Haerlem. nearly at the distance of between three and four leagues from it, the former lying towards the east, and the latter towards the fouth. From Amsterdam and Utrecht, Toledo proposed to furnish his army with provisions; and the people of Haerlem expected to derive the fame advantage from the neighbourhood of Leyden; where, in order to affift them more effectually, the prince of Orange now fixed his relidence.

The nearest way by which the Spanish army could approach to Haerlem, was by the fort of

Sparendam, the rampart of which stood on the BOOK dike along which the troops must pass. In this fort Riperda had placed a garrison of three hundred men, and had begun to employ the country people in breaking down the dike, in order to lay the country under water. But the frost having fet in with uncommon feverity, rendered all their labor fruitless, and gave the Spaniards easy access to the fort. The garrison made a vigorous resistance for some time; but being attacked on every fide, and overpowered by fuperior numbers, they were at length compelled to retire to Haerlem.

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Toledo followed foon after with his army, which confifted of between twelve and thirteen thousand men; fix thousand of whom were natives of Spain, and the rest Walloons and Germans. He had just begun to assign them their several stations, when he received intelligence that a body of troops, amounting to near three thousand men, with cannon and provisions, were upon their march from Leyden, with an intention to enter Haerlem, before the blockade was formed. He fet out immediately to intercept them, and had the good fortune, during a fall of fnow, to come upon them unawares, near the village of Berkenrode. His troops being greatly superior in number to the enemy, broke their ranks at the first onset, and having killed between fix and feven hundred, put the rest to flight. Their officers endeavoured to rally them, but in vain. They fled precipitately, and left their cannon and provisions a prey to the victorious army.

1572.

Toledo be gins the fiege.

BOOK
XII.
1572.
Progress of the siege.

Flushed with this success, Toledo returned immediately to the siege. Having stationed the Walloons and Germans on the great road which leads to Leyden, he himself with the Spaniards took possession of an hospital, which lay near the gate of the cross. At this place he resolved to begin his operations, although the gate was covered by a strong ravelin, and the wall on that side could be more easily defended than in any other quarter. Into this blunder he was betrayed, not fo much by ignorance or inadvertence, as by the contempt which he entertained for the belieged. After the success with which his arms had every where been attended, he did not expect to meet with the smallest difficulty in his present enterprise; and flattered himself that Haerlem, like the other revolted cities, would, as foon as he should begin his attack, open her gates to receive him. From the same prefumption, he neglected all the precautions which are usually taken in sieges; and without opening trenches to cover his men from the enemy's fire, he planted his battery and began to cannonade the gate and ravelin. He had no fooner made a breach, than he refolved to storm it, and for this purpose ordered one hundred and fifty men to cross the ditch, by means of a portable bridge. This detachment was ordered to return, in case the breach should be found impracticable. But the rest of the foldiers, who were not less confident of success than their general, and were impelled by their avidity for plunder, without waiting for the word of command, ran forward to the bridge, and passed over it in great numbers. They soon

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perceived their error. The breach was not near fo BOOK confiderable as they had imagined, and their scaling ladders were too short. The narrowness of the bridge, which permitted only three men to march a-breast, threw them into confusion. They flood on the brink of the ditch, crowded together, and exposed to the musquetry as well as cannon of the besieged. Still, however, the foolish ardor with which they were inspired, made them unwilling to retire, till Romero, an officer whom they highly respected, advanced towards them. and reproached them with the madness of their attempt. Do you not perceive, he cried, that the fmallness of the breach renders your affault impracticable? Is this the discipline which you have learnt in the school of the duke of Alva? Thus, without orders, to expose yourselves a defenceless prey to these rebels, who insult and butcher you. while they themselves are out of the reach of danger? You will foon find an opportunity to take vengeance on them. At present it is not in your power. At length he persuaded them to retire, but not till he himself was wounded, and near two hundred private men, and a great number of officers, had fallen.

This disafter served to undeceive Toledo with regard to the facility of his enterprise; and he refolved not to expose his troops to any further danger, till he should be fully provided with every thing necessary for conducting the fiege, with less expense of blood, and a better prospect of success. For this end, he gave the proper instructions to

1572.

BOOK XII. 1572. his agents in Utrecht and Amsterdam; but all the roads which led to his camp, were so much infested by the Hollanders, that a whole month elapsed before he was in a condition to renew his operations against the town.

Supplies fent to the town over the ice. The prince of Orange was more successful in his attempts to secure it. He could not indeed collect a sufficient number of troops, either to raise the siege, or to force his way through the enemy's intrenchments. But the frost having continued for several weeks, not only men, but even loaded carriages, could be conveyed over the lake with greater facility than by land. The reader need not be told with what agility the Hollanders transport themselves from one place to another, over the ice, with scates. They exerted all their dexterity on this occasion, and introduced into the city sisteen companies of soldiers, together with a great number of sledges, loaded with provisions and ammunition.

In the mean time Toledo had prepared every thing requisite for resuming the operations of the siege; and he now hastened to repair the faults which he had committed in the beginning; proceeding with greater caution than before, but with the same activity and vigor. Having by trenches secured his troops against the fire of the besiegers, he began to batter the town with his artillery; and at the same time employed his miners, of whom the duke of Alva had sent him three thousand from the bishopric of Liege, in working mines, and sapping the soundation of the walls. Neither labor

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road to ta the Anto the f havin nor danger was avoided. But the boldness and vigilance of the citizens and garrison were in proportion to the means employed to subdue them. By countermines, they either prevented, or rendered ineffectual the mines of the besiegers; and no sooner was a breach made in the fortistications, than ditches were dug, or some sudden bulwark raised behind it, by which all access was rendered as difficult as ever. Not fatisfied with acting on the desensive, they often sallied out upon the besiegers, destroyed their works, and sell upon them sword in hand, when they were the least prepared to repel their attacks.

While the Spaniards were thus kept in perpetual occupation and anxiety, the prince of Orange labored affiduously to increase their difficulties, by sending out flying parties to intercept their convoys of provisions. Some of these attempts proved successful; and as they made it necessary for Toledo to send large detachments from his army to guard his convoys, they facilitated the introduction of supplies into Haerlem, and retarded the progress

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apoor Almost all the supplies of the Spanish army came from Amsterdam, and there was but one road by which they could be conveyed. In order to take possession of an important pass on that road, the prince had sent a detachment of troops under Antony le Peintre, who had a principal concern in the surprise of Mons. The catholics of Amsterdam having received information of this design, dispatched a number of sorces, sufficient not only to

B O O K XII. 1572.

Ufelefs cruelty ex. ercifed by both parties B O O R XII. 1572.

fecure the pass, but to engage with the enemy. The two parties came to blows; the protestants were routed, and many of them flain; among whom was le Peintre their commander. In derifion of the besieged, the Spaniards having cut off the heads of le Peintre, and of another officer killed in that rencounter, whose name was Coning or King, they threw them over the walls into the city. with an inscription tied to the head of Coning, which bore, besides his name, upon which they jested awkwardly, that he was come with two thoufand auxiliaries to raife the fiege. Of this infult the Haerlemese showed their resentment, by an action equally barbarous. They beheaded twelve of their Spanish prisoners; and then put all their heads into a cask, which they rolled down into the trenches, after writing upon it, " The tax of the tenth penny to the duke of Alva, with the interest due to him on account of the delay of payment." In revenge for this barbarity, the Spaniards hung up by the feet and neck, a number of prisoners, in fight of the besieged; who, in return, put to death some more of their prisoners, in the same ignominious manner, in the view of the Spaniards. Such instances of barbarous and useless cruelty were often practifed in the beginning of the prefent war; nor were they discontinued, till the duke of Alva and his fon, who by their example contributed much to the spreading of this favage spirit, had left the Netherlands.

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Toledo affaults the town. The operations of the fiege were in the mean time carried on by Toledo with as much celerity,

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as the difficulty under which he labored in furnishing himself with provisions, and the numberless diseases which the severity of the season occasioned among his troops, would allow. By undermining the ravelin which defended the gate of the cross, he obliged the garrison to abandon it; and after a cannonading, which had lasted for many days. by which he laid a great part of the wall in ruins, he at last resolved to storm the breach with all his forces. For this purpose he drew them together from their feveral stations in the night; and that he might find the besieged unprepared, he began the affault before day-break. No precaution was neglected to infure fuccels. The orders were explained to all the foldiers, particularly and distinctly. Each man had his station and part affigned him. Some were appointed to stand at a proper distance from the walls, to annoy the enemy in case they should appear; and those who were destined for the affault were enjoined to observe the most profound silence, till they should make themfelves masters of the breach. So well was this last injunction observed, that several of the Spaniards had mounted the breach, and even scaled the walls, before the besieged were apprized of their approach. But when they had advanced thus far, they were perceived by the guards, who immediately founded the alarm, and tumbled them all headlong, before they had time to put themfelves into a posture of defence.

This affault was made near the ravelin of which Is repulled the Spaniards had got possession some days before;

BOOK XII. 1572.

XII. 1573.

and in order to fecond the affailants, many Spanish officers and foldiers were standing upon the ravelin, and a great number round it. The townsmen having resolved to render this fortification useless to the enemy, had wrought a mine under it, and lodged there a quantity of gun-powder, and other combustible materials. They faw with joy, and feized inflantly, the opportunity presented to them, of executing their purpole with fignal damage to the enemy. A part of the ravelin, with the ground adjoining to it, was blown up; and many of the Spaniards perished. The rest of the army stood aghast at this unforeseen disaster. The citizens left them no leifure to recover from their aftonishment, but rushed out impetuously, attacked them with irrefiftible fury, and compelled them to retire with the loss of a great number of officers, and upwards of three hundred private men.

He meditates the raising of the fiege.

The failure of this attempt, in which Toledo had exerted his utmost force and skill, gave him great anxiety with regard to the iffue of the fiege; and some of the principal officers advised him to raise it without delay. " All the miseries of a fiege," they faid, " were felt more by the royal army, than by the rebels who were befieged. Through the difficult communication between the camp and Amsterdam, the troops labored under a perpetual scarcity of provisions; and suffered more from the severity of the season, than from the sword of the enemy. They would either never be able to take the place, or it would cost them infinitely more than it was worth. In the end, the conquerors

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would find themselves in as deplorable a condition as the conquered; and no army would remain. fufficient to subdue the other cities which had rebelled."

BOOK XII. 1573.

This opinion was warmly opposed by other officers, who represented, That their success in the further profecution of the war, would depend on the iffue of the present siege. "If we raise it." faid they, " we shall confirm all the other cities in their obstinacy; if we persevere, we shall render easier every future enterprise. The season cannot remain long in its present severity. One night may dissolve the ice, of which our enemies have so often availed themselves. Our loss of men will be speedily repaired by the levies which are making in the Netherlands, and by the troops which we expect from Spain. We shall soon be able to cut off the town from all communication with the other revolted cities, and when we have done this, can we doubt that the befieged will open their gates and throw themselves upon our mercy?"

BETWEEN these opposite opinions Toledo would Alva's letnot take upon himself to decide, but referred the ter to his matter to the duke, whose answer, carrying in it, the appearance of authority more than of counsel. showed that he was not a little diffatisfied with his fon for deliberating on the subject. "You must profecute the fiege" faid Alva, in the letter which he wrote to him, "till you bring it to the defired iffue; unless you would prove yourfelf unworthy of the name you bear, of the blood from which you are forung, and of the command with which I have

X11. 1573.

BOOK intrusted you. The more difficult this enterprise, the greater glory may you derive from it. In a fiege of fuch importance as the prefent, you ought not to consider the number of days which it detains you; but the confequences with which your fuccess or failure will be attended. You must now endeavour to effectuate by famine, what you have been unable to accomplish by the sword. You must blockade the town, instead of storming it; and you will be enabled to render the blockade complete, by the reinforcement which will foon be fent you. But if still you shall entertain thoughts of abandoning your enterprise, I will either come myself to the camp, sick as I am; or if my increafing illness shall prevent me, I will fend for the dutchess of Alva to command the army, rather than fuffer it to withdraw."

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Frederic was stung with this reproach, and refolved to profecute the fiege, regardless of all the difficulties and dangers which had induced him to deliberate. He proceeded flowly, however, on account of his want of a fufficient number of troops to form the blockade; when, about the middle of February, the frost went off, and changed entirely the operations of the contending parties.

Battle on the lake.

The prince of Orange had not neglected to provide for this event. A great number of vessels had been prepared, and as foon as the ice was melted. and the wind favorable, they left Leyden with a large supply of provisions; and failing along the lake, entered into the Sparen, and got fafe to Haerlem. In this way the besieged were frequently

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fupplied; nor could the Spaniards for some time procure a naval force sufficient to prevent it. At last the count de Bossut, assisted by the people of Amsterdam, collected a great number of armed veffels with which he made his appearance on the And thus the scene was almost entirely changed, and the operations of the fiege converted. for feveral weeks, into the various rencounters which passed between the fleets; while the one party labored to introduce supplies into the city. and the other was continually on the watch to intercept them. At first the actions were slight and unimportant, but at length the number of ships on both fides being greatly augmented, they came to a general engagement; in which, after much bloodshed, victory declared against the protestants. In this action the count de Bossut acquired great honor, and reduced the enemy's fleet to fo low a pitch, that henceforth they could not venture with fafety to come within his reach. He foon after made himself master of a fort in the mouth of the Sparen, and having stationed a part of the fleet there, he rendered all access to the town by water utterly impracticable.

During these transactions on the lake, the The vigor townsmen and garrison exerted the same activity and intrepiand vigor as before. They gave the befiegers no befieged, respite, but haraffed them continually, by fallying out in strong bodies, fometimes in one quarter. and sometimes in another. In one of these sallies, they drove the German forces from their intrenchments, flew upwards of eight hundred of them,

BOOK fet on fire their tents and baggage, and carrying XII. off a great number of cannon and military enfigns,

1573. returned to the town in triumph.

But Toledo was foon afterwards in a condition to prevent these eruptions, from which the besieged derived so much glory. The reinforcement which his father had been preparing, at length arrived; and his trenches were thereby secured against any attack that could be made upon them, either from within, or from without.

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The belieged began to suffer greatly from a scarcity of provisions. There was no expedient for relief, however desperate, which they did not employ. They attempted frequently in the night, to force the enemy's lines, and to open a passage for the convoys, which, agreeably to concert, the prince of Orange fent forward, to be ready to enter the town, in case the garrison could dislodge the beliegers from their intrenchments. But they found the enemy every where prepared to receive them, and were repulsed in all their attempts. They had then recourse to another no less desperate expedient. They broke down the dike of the Sparen, and laid all the ground between the lake and the city under water. The Spaniards being obliged, in consequence of this device, to quit the part of their intrenchments to which the water reached, some flat-bottomed boats passed into the town, with gun-powder and provisions. But the relief which the besieged received in this way was

Thuanus, tom. iii. p. 218.

inconsiderable. Bossut being absolute master of BOOK the lake, the paffage by which the Hollanders had entered was foon blocked up, and all access to the town rendered as difficult as ever.

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XII. 1573.

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The people of Haerlem had now no profpect of Count Bat. deliverance, but from a body of troops which the feated. prince of Orange had for fome months been employed in affembling, with a view to attempt the raifing of the fiege. He had folicited aid from the queen of England, and from the French and German protestants. But the former was averse at this time from declaring herfelf openly against Philip; and both the latter were too much occupied at home, to have either leifure or power to afford their brethren in Holland any effectual affistance. In the mean time, the famine in Haerlem had rifen to the most dreadful height. Every species of ordinary food was already confumed; and the people fublisted on the roots of the coarfest herbs, and on the flesh of horses, dogs, and other animals, against which men commonly entertain the most irreconcileable aversion. William having got information of the extremity to which they were reduced, refolved to make an effort in their behalf, with the forces which he had already collected. They confifted partly of French, German, and English protestants, but chiefly of raw troops, which had been levied haltily for the prefent purpose in the neighbouring cities; amounting to four thousand foot, and fix hundred horfe. He intended to have conducted this little army himself, but was prevailed on by the States to give the command of it to

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\*\*BOOK\*\* the count of Battenburgh. Notice was conveyed to XII. the besieged of the time, when this armament would approach Haerlem, by letters tied to pigeons, which had been brought from Haerlem to Leyden, in order to be employed as messengers to the besieged, in case all other communication between the cities should be obstructed?

Battenburgh fet out from Leyden with his troops, feveral field pieces, and a large convoy of provisions, in the beginning of July. His instructions were, to direct his attack against the quarters of the Germans stationed towards the plain of Haerlem. The besieged it was expected, would fally out upon them at the fame time, and while they were thus distracted by one enemy before, and another behind them, it was hoped that the convoy of provisions would find an opportunity of entering the town. But Toledo having received intelligence of their delign, drew up a part of his forces within their intrenchments, to reprefs the fally intended by the belieged, and led out the rest to meet count Battenburgh. His troops being greatly superior to the enemy both in discipline and number, broke their ranks, and threw them into confusion at the first onset. The general, and upwards of two thousand men, were killed; and almost the whole convoy of provisions fell into the hands of the victors.

The belieged offer to capitulate. This difaster entirely broke the spirits of the besieged, and made it necessary for them to

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Thuanus, lib. lv. c. v.

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propose a furrender without delay. They accordingly fent a deputation to Toledo, with an offer to deliver up the town, on condition that the inhabitants should not be pillaged, and that the garrison should be allowed to march out of it, with the honors of war. Toledo refused to listen to these, His answer. or to any other conditions; and informed them that they must leave it to him to determine, what treatment both the garrison and citizens should receive.

BOOK XII. 1573 ..

The besieged were too well acquainted with his Their reson implacable spirit, not to shrink at the thoughts of exposing themselves to his mercy. They had not forgotten the dismal catastrophe of Naerden. They confidered his answer as a declaration, that he had devoted them to destruction. The people ran in crowds from every quarter of the city, to the places of public refort, in order to learn the particulars of that fatal answer which the deputies had brought. The women, the aged, and all the more unwarlike part of the inhabitants, were overwhelmed with terror. As if their houses had been already in flames, or as if they had beheld the bloody fword of the Spaniard waving round them, there was nothing to be feen or heard, but tears, and shrieks, and groans. Their despair was soon afterwards converted into a degree of madness, by a resolution formed by the governor and garrison, to leave all fuch as were unable to bear arms behind them, and to force their way, fword in hand, through the enemy's lines. To prevent them from executing their purpose, the women hastened

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tumultuoufly (many of them with their children in their arms) to the gate where the garrifon had appointed to rendezvous before their departure. It was a scene truly piteous and miserable; the women either rolling in the dust, or clinging round the necks and knees of their husbands. fathers, fons, or brothers; dissolved in tears, and implored that they might be carried along with them, and fuffered either to escape or perish together. The men were melted at the fight of fo much anguish in persons so near and dear to them, and yielded at last to their entreaties. It was then agreed, that one half of all the military in the town fhould march in the front, the other half in the rear, and the women, children, and others unable to bear arms, in the middle between them. Drawn up in this form, they refolved to attempt a passage with their swords through the enemy's intrenchments. They knew it to be impossible, but that most of them must perish. " But if we open our gates to the Spaniards," faid Riperda, "must we not likewise perish? And if we must die, (though still it is possible we may escape) is it not better to die fighting bravely in the field; we who have exerted ourselves so strenuously in defence of our religion and liberty; than after being stript of our arms, and bound like criminals, to receive an ignominious death upon a scaffold, or in a dungeon, from the hands of an ungenerous and unrelenting enemy?"

Toledo of-

They were upon the point of putting their defign in execution, when intelligence of it was

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carried to Toledo. He confidered, that if they were BOOK not diverted from it, he should, in consequence of his victory, instead of a great and important city, favorable acquire possession only of a desolated ruin. He re- terms. flected too on the danger to which his troops might be exposed, from the fury of so many brave men animated by despair and vengeance; and therefore, without delay, he fent a trumpet to the befieged, to give them hopes of favor and forgiveness. There was a violent struggle in their minds for some time between their fears, and the hopes with which he thus inspired them. But from their knowledge of his character, their distrust and diffidence prevailed; and they refused to hearken to his proposal, till he engaged, that, on condition of their paying two hundred thousand livres, the army should be restrained from plundering the inhabitants, and that all of them, except fifty-feven. whom he named, should receive a full pardon of their offences.

This exception of fo great a number of citizens, who were the most considerable persons in the town, and had diftinguished themselves by their bravery in its defence, would have prevented the accommodation from taking place, had not the German part of the garrison urged in the most determined manner, that the conditions offered should be accepted. The Walloons, on the other hand, and the Dutch, were extremely reluctant and averse; because, as they were more obnoxious than the Germans, they believed that no mercy would be shown them. The garrison being thus divided

BOOK XII. in their fentiments, and many of them having, with a view to make their escape, secretly withdrawn from their stations on the walls, the inhabitants began to dread that the Spaniards, observing them grown more remiss than formerly, might take the town by storm; and therefore, without further delay, they sent a deputation of their number, to make the surrender on the terms proposed.

The furren-

July 13.

A regiment of Spaniards was immediately fent to take possession of the place. All persons, whether inhabitants or foreign foldiers, were ordered to lay down their arms. The citizens were commanded to retire into certain churches, and the garrison to certain monasteries, where guards were placed over them, to prevent their escape. On the fame day Toledo entered the town with the Spanish troops. In order to induce the foreign foldiers, of whom the garrifon chiefly confifted, to concur with the inhabitants in the furrender. Toledo had given them particular affurances of fafety. And although they were strictly guarded, and not fuffered to depart, yet bread had been distributed to them as well as to the citizens; and no violence was offered them till the third day, when the duke of Alva, who had recovered from his illness, came to Haerlem, on pretence of vifiting the fortifications, but in reality to instruct his son with regard to his treatment of the prisoners.

The perfidious cruelty of Alva and his fon. It was then, but too late, that this brave, though now defenceless garrison repented of having so tamely delivered up their arms; and saw the folly of trusting in the mercy of an ungenerous enemy, by the fon flog Sco nur tem

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whose revenge and hatred were implacable. A massacre, which had been concerted in the interview between the father and the fon, was begun. by putting to death three hundred Walloons. At the same time, the brave Riperda, and other perfons of note were beheaded. But the flaughter flopt not here. Several hundreds of French. Scotch, and English soldiers, besides a considerable number of the citizens who had been feized in attempting to make their escape, were likewise butchered; and when the executioners were tired with flaughtering, they tied the unhappy victims two by two, and plunged them into the river. Even the fick and wounded were carried out into the court yard of the hospital were they lay, and put to the fword.

Historians differ as to the number of those who were involved in this dismal catastrophe; and it is remarkable that some of the Spanish writers make it greater than the Dutch. By the lowest account, nine hundred brave men were executed like the vilest malefactors, who, trusting to Toledo's promife, had given up their arms, and thrown themselves upon his mercy.

It would shock the reader's humanity to offer Consequenany excuse for such inhuman cruelty; yet it must vigorous denot be denied that Alva had ample matter of cha- fence of grin, when he considered how much the length of Haerlen, the siege, and the obstinate valor of the besieged had cost him. By the inclemency of the season, by the scarcity of provisions, and by the sword of the enemy, he had lost four thousand five hundred

BOOK XII. 1573.

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BOOK men; besides a great number whom their diseases XII. or wounds rendered unsit for service. Nor was the diminution of his forces the only loss which he sustained from this siege. It was attended with an expense, by which his treasure was exhausted. It sunk considerably the reputation of his arms; and inspired the insurgents with hopes, that an enemy, who had found it so difficult to conquer, might themselves be overcome. It afforded leisure to the other revolted cities to settle their affairs, and surnished them with the happiest opportunity of carrying on their conquests in Zealand, where the city of Middleburgh still remained in the hands of

Mutiny of the Spanish troops. Of the several inconveniencies which the duke of Alva suffered from the length of the siege, the draining of his treasury was not the least considerable; as it occasioned his falling behind in the payment of his troops, and rendered abortive all the succeeding operations of the campaign. He intended that they should have gone from Haerlem into North Holland, to secure the town of Alcmaer. But when orders were given for their march, they resuled to obey. They had been greatly exasperated by the conditions granted to the people of Haerlem, because they were thereby disappointed in their hopes of plunder; and they resolved to make Toledo seel their resentment, by insisting

Bentivoglio, p. 117. Meteren, p. 110. Meursii Auriacus, lib. viii.

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on the immediate payment of their arrears. He represented to them the prejudice which the king's interest would suffer from their remaining inactive at the present criss. But the more they perceived their importance, the higher was the gratification of their resentment. Without regard either to Toledo's remonstrances, or to the terms on which Haerlem had been surrendered, they fixed their quarters in that city; laid the citizens, already exhausted by their sufferings, under contribution, and exercised over them the same tyrannical oppression, as if they had taken the town by storm: thus demonstrating to the inhabitants of the other cities, the absurdity of submitting to the Spaniards, whatever conditions might he offered; fince, even when their commanders were willing to observe these conditions, they were violated by the soldiers, whose rapacity the general was unable to restrain.

This incident affected the duke of Alva with the most sensible concern. He was aware of the pernicious effects that must arise from it. He had ever valued himself, and not without reason, on the exact discipline which he had hitherto maintained. Inclined, but at the same time asraid, to employ rigor and severity, lest still more pernicious consequences should follow, he resolved to make trial of persuasion; and with this view he employed the intercession of the marquis of Vitelli, who was the most beloved as well as the most respected of all his officers. Vitelli exerted his utmost art and influence; and at last, with infinite difficulty, he persuaded the mutineers to accept a

BOOK XII.

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BOOK part of their arrears, and to submit to the authority of their commanders.

1473. The fiege of Alcmaer.

Much time having been employed in this negociation, the feafon was far advanced before the army could be led to Alcmaer. This place (if they had attacked it fooner) must unavoidably have fallen into their hands. It had been the last of all the cities in North Holland, in shaking off its allegiance to Philip. The catholic inhabitants were numerous, and had been able to keep possession of one of the principal gates of the town. They had earnestly solicited Toledo to hasten to their affistance. But the mutiny of his troops having prevented him from complying with their request till it was too late, the prince of Orange had improved the leifure which this incident afforded him; and having fent forces to the affistance of the protestant inhabitants, he had wrested the gate out of the hands of the catholics; furnished the protestants with arms, and procured for them from the neighbouring cities, Supplies of provisions and military ftores.

Toledo was aware of the disadvantages which must attend his entering on the siege of a place, situated like Alcmaer in a marshy soil, so late in the year. But he hoped, that with so great an army as he now possessed it, he would be able to reduce it before the rainy season should begin; and

Bentivoglio, p. 131.

It amounted to fixteen thousand men.

he knew that the reduction of Alcmaer would greatly facilitate his conquest of the other towns in the province. He left Haerlem therefore as foon as Vitelli had quelled the mutiny of the troops,

and marched directly towards Alcmaer ".

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Having planted a battery on each fide of the town, he began a brisk cannonading, and in a few days made fuch confiderable breaches, that he doubted not of being able to carry the town by storm. In order to divide the garrison, he resolved to make an affault on both fides at once. The inhabitants perceived his design, and prepared for their defence. The Spaniards having passed the The Spaniditch, by means of two portable bridges, advanced repulled. to the attack with loud shouts, and full confidence. that there was no force in the place sufficient to oppose them. But they foon found that courage. when grounded on despair, can in some cases supply the want both of discipline and numbers. The garrison, seconded by the townsmen, made so intrepid a refistance, as filled the Spaniards with astonishment. They renewed their attack several times; but were at last obliged to retire with the loss of fix hundred killed, and three hundred wounded. Toledo could not, either by promises or threats, persuade them to return to the assault. Soon afterwards the rains began to fall, and the Spaniards fuffered greatly from the humidity of the air and foil. The duke of Alva too had received.

BOOK XII. 1573.

It lies at the distance of only one day's journey from Haerlem.

BOOK XII. intelligence, that the Hollanders had formed the defign of opening their fluices, in order to lay the country round Alcmaer under water. To fave his army therefore from destruction, he sent orders to his son to raise the siege; which Frederic did accordingly on the eleventh of October. He then marched to the southern parts of the province, and put his troops, greatly satigued and exhausted, into winter-quarters 12.

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The fiege raifed.

Sea-fight near Amfterdam.

Alva was not more fortunate at this time by fea, than he had been by land at Alcmaer. In revenge for the affistance which the people of Amsterdam had lent the Spaniards in the fiege of Haerlem, the inhabitants of Enchuysen, Horn, and other protestant cities, had fitted out against them a numerous fleet, which they stationed in the mouth of the river Ye. With this fleet they took or destroyed every vessel that attempted to pass from Amsterdam into the Zuider sea, and thus put an entire stop to the trade of that commercial city. To remedy this evil, which must soon have proved fatal to a people who fubfifted wholly by trade, the duke of Alva had come himself to Amsterdam, where he had equipped with the utmost expedition a fleet, confisting of twelve ships of war, of a much larger fize than usual, of which he gave the command to the count de Boffut. This fleet was much inferior in number to that of the enemy; but this difadvantage, Alva hoped, would be compensated by the number of foldiers on board,

Meteren, p. 123. Thuanus, lib. lv. fect. 8-

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added to the superior size of the ships, and the skill BOOK and bravery of the commander.

As foon as Boffut approached the mouth of the river, the Hollanders left their station, and retired towards Horn and Enchuysen. Here they received a torious. considerable reinforcement; and soon afterwards returned, under the command of Theodore Sonov. to watch an opportunity to encounter the enemy on advantageous terms. The two fleets for some time lay in fight of each other, and frequent skirmishes passed between them. Bollut hesitated long, when ther he should venture to engage with a force so much superior; and for this reason he kept his fleet in the open fea, and in the deepest water, where he could avail himself of the fize of his ships. But the people of Amsterdam, impatient under the interruption of their trade, having transmitted a falle representation to the duke of Alva of the

strength of the Dutch fleet, persuaded him to

fent politive orders for a general engagement. Bof-

fut, though extremely diffident of fuccess, imme-

diately steered towards the enemy, who lay in

shallow water, prepared for his attack. The com-

bat was begun with great spirit and intremdity, but

victory foon appeared on the fide of the Hollan-

ders; who having a much greater number of thips

than the enemy, attacked them on every fide;

and being much nimbler in all their motions, did

them a great deal of mischief, while their own loss

was inconsiderable. Of Bossu's fleet, one ship, with all the crew, was sunk; three were stranded, and afterwards taken by the Hollanders; and all

Vol. II.

XII. 1573. The protestants vie-

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the rest, except the admiral's galley, saved themfelves by flight. Of this veffel, the cotemporary historians speak in the strongest terms; and reprefent her as one of the largest, and the best equipped, that had been ever feen. She was furrounded by a number of the enemy's smaller vessels. which battered her furiously on every side, and at length drove her upon a bank. Boffut, still unwilling to fuffer her to fall into their hands, continued to make the most obstinate resistance ", till of three hundred foldiers on board, two hundred and twenty were killed, and all the rest wounded but fifteen. In this fituation, one of the Spaniards, who remembered the scenes of treachery and bloodshed in which he had been concerned in Naerden and Haerlem, advised the admiral to receive the enemy into the ship, and then to blow her in the air. But Boffut, conscious of having done every thing that either his duty or his honor could require. refused to listen to so desperate a proposal, and chose rather to confide in an offer which was made him by the Hollanders, that if he would furrender without any farther refistance, they would spare the lives of all that were on board. On this condition the ship was accordingly given up; and Boffut, with fuch of the crew and foldiers as furvived, was conducted to prison in the town of Horn "

Boffut is taken prifoner-

This engagement lasted for twenty-eight hours.

two-and-thirty guns. — Thuanus, lib. lv. fect. vii. Meteren, p. 125. Bentivoglio, p. 133.

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Sonoy fent immediate notice of this victory to the States of Holland; who being fensible how much their fafety depended on maintaining their superiority at sea, had been extremely anxious with regard to the iffue of the contest; and they now appointed a folemn thankfgiving to be observed in all the churches of the province.

XII. 1573.

Their joy on this occasion was not a little in- The States creafed by the acquisition of San Gertrudenburgh; acquire San which gave them the command of the Maefe, and burgh, a free entrance into the province of Brabant. It was taken by a detachment of their troops, under the command of the Sieur de Payette, a French protestant, who entered it in the night by scalade. and put the garrison, confisting of a cohort of Walloons under a Spanish governor, to the sword.

This loss was in some measure compensated to 8t. Aldethe duke of Alva, by an advantage which a detachment of his army gained over the Sieur de St. Aldegonde, who had marched with a body of troops to check the excursions of the Spaniards in the fouthern parts of Holland. St. Aldegonde's forces were cut to pieces or dispersed, and he himself was taken prisoner. Alva would not have spated the life of a man, who, by his activity in rouling the spirit of liberty among his countrymen, had rendered himself so exceedingly obnoxious, had he not been restrained by his regard for the preservation of the count de Bossut; upon whom the prince of Orange had declared he would retaliate, for

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BOOK whatever severity should be used against St. Alde-XII. gonde ".

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1573. Alva leaves the Nether-

Alva intended to have begun the next campaign with the fiege of Leyden; and with this view he feized upon a number of stations in the neighbourhood of that city. But the fiege, no less memorable than that of Haerlem, was reserved for his successor. Alva had, as mentioned above. applied to Philip for liberty to leave the Low Countries, on account of the bad state of his health, occasioned by the moilture of the climate. and the fatigues which he had undergone. This was believed by many to be only a pretence; while his request proceeded in reality from apprehensions. that the king had liftened to the representations of his enemies, and would foon confer his office upon another. There is very little reason, however, to suppose that Philip was in the smallest degree distatisfied with his conduct, fince he appears, in all his tyranny and violence, to have acted with strict conformity to his instructions. But Philip having at last become diffident of the success of those cruel measures which he had hitherto prescribed, had refolved, not from choice, but from necessity, to make trial of fome more gentle expedients. He knew how unfit the duke of Alva was to be employed in the execution of this new plan of government; and he believed that no concessions would prove acceptable to the revolted provinces, that could be made by one who had rendered himself so

Meursti Auriacus, p. 270. Meteren, p. 125.

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much the object of their abhorrence. He had BOOK therefore readily confented that Alva should retire, and had, more than a year before the prefent period, appointed the duke de Medina Cœli, governor of the Netherlands in his room. This nobleman having found, upon his arrival, that the provinces were in a very different state from what he had expected, and that the charge which he had undertaken would probably be attended with much greater difficulty than glory, declined entering upon it, and afterwards obtained leave from Philip to return to Spain. He remained, however, in the Low Countries till towards the end of the present year, when the new governor, Don Lewis de Zuniga and Requesens, arrived. And soon afterwards the duke of Alva, who had come to Bruffels to receive Requesens, having resigned the regency into his hands, fet out with his fon, by the way of Germany and Italy, for Spain.

On this occasion men were affected variously. Even all the protestants did not entertain the same fentiments with regard to the effects which the duke's departure was likely to produce. While some rejoiced at it from the dread which they entertained of his abilities; others confidered, that for feveral months past his good fortune had forfaken him; and they believed that the abhorrence which his tyranny had excited towards his person and government, would, by proving a powerful bond of union among his enemies, effectually prevent them from liftening to any infidious terms of accommodation which the Spaniards might propose.

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XII. \*1573. Alva's boaft.

He was regarded both by the catholics and pro. testants, as the chief source of all the calamities in which the Netherlands had been involved. He had received his government from the dutchess of Parma, in a state of perfect tranquillity. By his tyranny, he had thrown it into the most terrible combustion, and kindled the flames of a destructive war, which he was conscious of being unable to extinguish, and had therefore applied for liberty to retire. He is faid to have boafted to count Koningftein ", at whose house he lodged in his way to Italy, that during his government of five years and a half. upwards of eighteen thousand heretics had suffered by the hand of the public executioner; besides a much greater number whom he had put to the fword, in the towns which he took, and in the field of battle.

His govern-

The fituation of the Low Countries during Alva's administration, was truly deplorable. His oppression was not confined to the protestants; but great numbers too of the catholics were put to death, and their effects forseited, on the pretence of their having given entertainment to heretics, or of having held a correspondence with them in their exile. Wives were punished with the utmost severity for affording shelter to their husbands, whom the council of tumults had condemned; children for performing the like kind offices to their parents; and in Utrecht, a father was executed for allowing his son, who had returned from banishment, to

Uncle to the prince of Orange.

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lodge under his roof, for one night. By forcing fo many thousands of the most industrious inhabitants to leave the country, and by neglecting to provide a naval force to oppose the exiles at sea, commerce was almost entirely ruined; notwithstanding which. he imposed upon the people more oppressive taxes than they could have borne, if they had been in the most flourishing condition. In levying these taxes, the utmost rigor was employed. The people were often wantonly provoked, and tumults purposely excited, from which occasion was taken to punish them with confiscation of their goods. and fometimes both with death and confifcation. From the confiscations and taxes large sums were raised; yet, by maintaining so numerous an army. and by building citadels to keep the principal towns in awe, as he received little affistance from the king, who was engaged in other expensive enterprifes, he fell behind in the payment of his troops: and in order to keep them in good humor, he permitted them to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants; against whom they exercised on many occasions, the most cruel and oppressive rapacity. To point Thinaba sestory and b brown ball secretary and the Allanda

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Alva's Viatas above mentioned, and with regrelling

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BOOK XIII. 1573. Character of Requesens.

Line the confice I R R T I work on the PHILIP could not have made choice of a more proper fucceffor to the duke of Alva than Requesens, who had acquired fome military fame in the battle of Lepanto, and had diftinguished himself in the government of Milan, by his prudence and moderation; qualities from which Philip now hoped for greater fuccefs, in quelling the rebellious fpirit of his subjects in the Netherlands, than had attended the violent administration of the duke of Alva.

He applies himfelf to raife the flege of Middleburgh.

To show as early as possible, that a change of measures had been adopted by the court of Spain, Requefens began his government with demolishing Alva's statue above mentioned, and with repressing the infolence of certain garrifons, at whose enormities his predecessor had connived . He then

Strada, ab init. an. 1574.

applied with great industry to make the necessary preparations for the relief of Middleburgh; which, having been closely besieged by the Zealanders for more than a year and a half, was now reduced to the last extremity. Several vigorous attempts had been made, during the duke of Alva's administration, to raise the siege; but through the superiority of the Dutch sleet, they had proved abortive; and Mondragone the governor had given notice, that if he was not relieved in a few days, he would find it necessary to surrender.

Requesens knew that nothing but the most pressing necessity would have drawn this declaration from an officer of so great spirit and fortitude as Mondragone. And he was sensible, that upon the preservation of Middleburgh, depended that of all the other towns in Zealand which retained their allegiance. He therefore postponed every other object of his attention; and having gone to Antwerp, he equipped there, and at Bergen op-zoom, with the utmost expedition, a fleet consisting of more than thirty ships, besides transports, with provisions and military stores.

This fleet he divided into two squadrons, one of which commanded by the vice-admiral, the Sieur de Glimes and Julio Romero, he ordered to fail from Bergen, down the Easter Scheld; and the other under Sancho d'Avila, to fall down the Hont or Wester Scheld, from Antwerp. By this measure, he intended to distract the enemy's

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NOOK attention, and to oblige them to divide their forces;
XIII. and he hoped that at least one of the two squadrons might effectuate its entrance into the canal of Middleburgh.

But the prince of Orange, whose adherents were numerous in every corner of the maritime provinces, had received early information of the governor's design, and had likewise got intelligence of his plan of operations. Having passed over from Holland to the isle of Walcheren, and taken up his residence in Flushing, in order to assist the Zealanders with his counsel, William stationed a part of his fleet on the south coast of the island, to lie in wait for d'Avila; and sent all the rest, strongly, manned, and well equipped for sighting, up the Easter Scheld, with orders, as soon as possible to attack the fleet under the command of de Glimes and Romero.

Battle of Sacherlo.

This fleet, with the greatest part of the transports, had already set sail from Bergen; and Requesens, extremely anxious for its sate, had accompanied it as sar as Sacherlo. There it cast anchor, and was waiting for the rising tide, when the Zealanders, commanded by Boisot admiral of Holland, arrived in fight. De Glimes soon perceived the superiority of Boisot's sleet, both in the size and number of the ships, and was of opinion that he ought not to proceed in the intended enterprise; but he was overruled by Romero, who, prompted by his innate courage, and by that contempt, which, like the rest of his countrymen, he entertained for the Dutch insurgents, insisted that

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XIII.

1574.

they should try the fortune of a battle. They accordingly weighed anchor, and advanced to the enemy. In the beginning of the engagement, De Glimes's own thip ran foul of a fand bank, from which she could not be difengaged. The Zealanders perceiving her diftress, attacked her on every fide, and at length fet her on fire. Romero hastened to her affistance; but all his attempts to extinguish the flames proved ineffectual. In a few minutes the funk; after having communicated the flames to Romero's ship, that had come to her relief. Romero was obliged to jump overboard. and fave his life by swimming '. The Zealanders had the fame fortunate success against all the other ships of the enemy; they funk some, burnt others, and took the rest. Besides De Glimes. and several other officers, near a thousand Walloons and Spaniards perished. The victory was decisive. And Requesens had the mortification, from the dike of Sacherlo, to witness this disafter, which was great in itself; but was rendered still greater, and more afflicting to him, by the fatal confequences with which he forefaw it must be attended.

D'Avila in the mean time, with the fquadron under his command, had failed from Antwerp, and advanced as far as Flushing. Had he proceeded in his voyage without delay, he must have reached Middleburgh, in spite of the Dutch fleet, which had been stationed to oppose him; for it is

capitalists, confined to love up both the civils of

Menfii Auriaous, p. 122,000 marros ant su fram

BOOK XIII. 1574.

not probable that he would have met with great refistance from that fleet, as the flower of all the forces belonging to it had been fent with Boifot. The prince of Orange, who knew this, was extremely apprehensive of the issue, and anxiously longed for Boifot's return; but he was foon delivered from his anxiety, by observing from a promontory near Flushing, that instead of hastening forward, d'Avila had cast anchor, and seemed resolved to wait for the arrival of De Glimes and Romero. In a few hours d'Avila received intelligence of their defeat; after which, despairing of being able to relieve the befreged, he immediately fet fail for Antwerp. He was purfued by the enemy; but having betaken himself to flight in time. he arrived with very little loss at his destined port.

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The furrender of Middleburgh

The prince of Orange conveyed intelligence to Mondragone of what had paffed, by a Spanish officer whom he had taken prisoner, and at the same time threatened, that if he did not furrender the town in a few days, the garrifon should be put to the sword without mercy. Great numbers of the besieged had already died of hunger, or of the unwholesome food to which they had been obliged to have recourfe. Provisions of almost every kind, not excepting the flesh of dogs and horses, were confumed; nor had they any other food, but bread made of flax feed; and even this was nearly exhausted. Mondragone perceiving that the destruction of the garrison, as well as of the inhabitants, must be the certain consequence of his refusing to capitulate, confented to give up both the cities of

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Middleburgh and Armuyden, on condition that the garrisons should be allowed to depart with their arms and baggage, and that the ecclefiaftics. : 1574 and all fuch of the catholic inhabitants as inclined to withdraw, should have liberty to dispose of their effects, and be transported to the continent. William highly respected Mondragone on account of his gallant conduct during the fiege, and agreed to thefe conditions; but required that he should pledge his honor that he would procure the release of St. Aldegonde, and two or three more of the Protestant leaders, or return into captivity. In the fequel, Mondragone showed himself worthy of the confidence which was reposed in him. By his intercesfion with Requesens, St. Aldegonde and the other prisoners were set at liberty '.

Notwithstanding this signal triumph gained over Apprehen-Requelens in his first enterprise, the prince of prince of. Orange was not without apprehensions, that the Orange. difference between his character and that of his predecessor, added to the difference of measures which he feemed determined to purfue, might produce some alteration in the fentiments of the people. The high military talents, the vigor and activity of Alva, had been objects of dread and terror. They had overawed most of the provinces, and rendered the efforts of others ineffectual; but as the oppressive violence of that tyrant had at first given birth to the revolt, so it had contributed more than any other cause to cherish and support it.

trades, from whole reports they had

Meteren, p. 120. Bentivoglie.

BOOK XIII. 2574. Under a milder and more artful governor, William dreaded, not only that the inhabitants of the interior provinces would acquiesce in the established government, but that even the people of Holland and Zealand would be enticed, again to yield their necks to the Spanish yoke. And to prevent this, he employed every consideration that could work either on their hopes or fears.

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He puts the people on their guard.

The king had fo far complied with their wishes. as to remove the duke of Alva; but how little reason they had to flatter themselves, that any greater regard would be now paid to their rights than formerly, was manifest from his choice of the new governor, who had procured his mafter's favor, by the exercise of cruelty over the Moors in Granada; and who, being a stranger and a Spaniard as well as Alva, could not be greatly interested in the prosperity of the provinces, nor have any other end in view, but to promote the tyrannical defigns of the court of Spain. Requesens indeed had a more benign and placid countenance than Alva; but the danger to which the provinces were exposed, was for this reason the more to be dreaded by every friend of his country. Amidst the governor's professions of concern for their prosperity, no mention had been made of freeing them from that enormous load of taxes under which they groaned; or of delivering their consciences from that restraint and violence, which the former governor had imposed upon them; or of restoring the laws which Alva had fo wantonly trampled under foot; or in short, of dismissing those foreign troops, from whose rapacity they had suffered such

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intolerable outrage. In order to accomplish these important purposes, the provinces of Holland and Zealand had taken up arms; and although the fortune of the war had been various, yet in spite of the most vigorous efforts of the duke of Alva. with a numerous army, to reduce them, these provinces were governed by their own inhabitants. and enjoyed the free and full possession of their religious and civil rights. The other provinces ought now to imitate the example of their countrymen: and they might reasonably hope that their endeavours would be attended with success; the king having appointed a governor over them, inexperienced in the art of war, and unacquainted with the army under his command, which was at present strongly infected with a spirit of sedition and discontent. It might perhaps appear rash and daring for the inhabitants of fo narrow a territory as the Netherlands, to enter the lifts with fo potent an enemy as the king of Spain; but the power of that monarch was not in reality fo formidable as it feemed. The great extent of his dominions ferved rather to embarrass and encumber him, than to add to his strength; and considering the diftance of his place of refidence, and the difficulty of transporting troops either from Spain or Italy. there was little reason to apprehend that he would ever be able to subdue the people of the Netherlands; if they acted with that unanimity and spirit which became them, in a cause, in which, not only their property, and their existence as a commercial state, but their religion and civil liberty, were at stake. ".

BOOK XIII. 1574. BOOK XIII. 1574.

By these and such other arguments, did the prince of Orange animate the people to co-operate with him, in afferting their liberty, in opposition to the plan formed by the court of Spain to enflave them.

The laft attempt of count Lewis of Naffau.

Mean while, his brother count Lewis, who had refided in Germany ever fince the furrender of Mons, was employed in attempting to perfuade the protestant princes there, to assist him in his preparations for a new invasion of the interior provinces; to which, notwithstanding the failure of his former enterprises, Lewis was prompted, partly by his knowledge of the mutinous spirit of the Spanish troops, but chiefly by the prospect of that affistance which it was now in his brother's power to afford him. It was concerted between the two brothers, that as foon as count Lewis had finished his levies, the prince should advance with a body of troops towards the interior provinces, either to make a divertion in his brother's favor, or to unite their forces.

Lewis found it extremely difficult to procure money to defray the expense of his intended expedition. His brother's fortune as well as his own were almost ruined by their former military enterprifes. The States of Holland were involved in greater expense than they were able to support. They had, in conjunction with the prince of Orange, made application to the queen of England; but this princefs, being unwilling to embroil herself with Philip, had refused to affift them. Lewis had begun his preparations, in hopes of

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receiving supplies from some German princes, who had promifed their affistance, but who were either not inclined, or unable to fulfil their engagements. To fave himself from the affront of abandoning an undertaking, in which a great number of French and German protestants had engaged at his request, he opened a negociation with Schomberg, ambaffador of Charles the Ninth of France, who at this time courted the favor of the protestant princes in Germany, with a view to facilitate the election of his brother the duke of Anjou, to the crown of Poland. Between Lewis and Schomberg. who met at Francfort on the Maine, it was agreed, That if Charles should, in behalf of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, declare war against the king of Spain, the provinces of Holland and Zealand should be immediately delivered into the hands of the French monarch; on his engaging to maintain all their rights, and in particular, the free exercise of the reformed religion. Charles should not make open war, it was agreed, that count Lewis should have three hundred thoufand livres to affift him in his present enterprise; that the French king should have the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand, and that fome of the German princes should be furety for the fulfilment of this condition. A part of the money was paid, and Lewis was thereby enabled to complete his levies, which amounted to between three and four thousand horse, and seven thousand foot.

Thuanus, lib. lv. Meteren, p. 133. — Charles died foon after, and the treaty had no other consequences.

VOL. II.

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BOOK XIII. He began his march, accompanied by his brother Henry, and Christopher, son of the elector Palatine, in the beginning of February; and despising the rigor of the season, he advanced with great rapidity towards the Netherlands, in hopes of finding the governor unprepared. Having crossed the Rhine and the Moselle, he directed his course towards Guelderland, with an intention to pass the Maese at Maestricht, and to pursue his march through Brabant, till he should unite his forces with those which his brother had engaged to bring to his assistance.

The governor's perplexity.

With fo great dispatch and secrecy had Lewis conducted his preparations, that Requesens remained ignorant of his design, till he was informed that he had begun his march. By this intelligence the governor was thrown into great perplexity. His troops had been lately fo much reduced, that it was impossible for him to oppose both the brothers at the same time; and he considered, that to unite his forces, and employ them against Lewis, would expose the maritime provinces an easy prey to the prince of Orange. His anxiety was increased by the discovery of an intrigue, which had been formed by William's adherents, for the surprise of Antwerp. Nor was he entirely free from apprehensions that his troops might refuse to quit the towns in which they were stationed, till they fhould receive payment of their arrears. Having convened a council of his principal officers, and heard their opinions of the measures which they thought most proper to be pursued, he resolved

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the they ving and they to remain, together with the Marquis of Vitelli, in Antwerp, to watch the fecret machinations of the prince of Orange; and such troops as could be foonest drawn together, were immediately sent off under Sancho d'Avila, to oppose the passage of count Lewis over the Maese. The rest followed soon after; having been persuaded to leave their quarters, by a promise that their arrears should be paid, as soon as the provinces were delivered from the impending danger.

Lewis in the mean time advancing towards the frontier, had arrived within a few miles of MacGtricht, where he pitched his camp; in expectation that his friends in the place would be able to make themselves masters of one of the gates. But Requesens having discovered his intention, had dispatched several companies of light armed troops before the main army, to secure the town. These troops arrived in time to prevent the friends of Lewis from executing their design; and in a few days afterwards, they were joined by d'Avila with

the rest of the forces.

Lewis was not prepared for undertaking the fiege of a place so completely fortified as Maestricht; and after some trials of strength in two of three skirmishes with the Spaniards, he decamped, and marched down the East side of the river, till he came to Ruremonde; but there too, as well as in Maestricht, the protestants were intimidated and overawed, and not a single person ventured to declare in his savor. He continued his march in the same direction, resolving to hasten forward till

BOOK XIII. 1574.

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BOOK he should join his brother, who was advancing to meet him in the country which lies between the Maefe and the Waal.

D'Avila aimed at nothing for some time, but to prevent Lewis from transporting his army over the river, and with this view he had marched as near him as possible, having the river between them; but receiving a reinforcement of two thoufand veteran troops, and finding, by the information of his spies, that Lewis had laid aside his first defign of croffing the Maefe, and was on full march towards the prince of Orange, he confider-'ed, that it was of the highest importance to prevent their junction; and that for this purpose it was necessary to compel Lewis as soon as possible to engage. With this intention he proceeded with the utmost celerity down the river, and having croffed it by a bridge of boats at the town of Grave, he thus got between count Lewis and his brother's army. Lewis, anxious to prevent this, had avoided every unnecessary delay; but his troops, chagrined at being refused admittance first into Maestricht, and afterwards into Ruremonde, had proceeded in their march with much less alacrity than the Spaniards. He received the first intelligence of D'Avila's having croffed the Maefe when he arrived at Mooch, a village at the distance of only one league from the Spanish army, and on the fame fide of the river. He foon perceived the necessity to which he was reduced, either to give the enemy battle, or to retire. To retire, he faw, must be extremely difficult and dangerous, on

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account of the disorder and consternation which commonly attend a retreat; and therefore he didnot helitate to try the fortune of a battle, although he knew how much inferior his undisciplined forces were to the Spaniards, who were select veteran troops, animated by the consciousness of superior prowels, and commanded by d'Avila, a person of extraordinary abilities, who, by merit alone, had raifed himself from the station of a common soldier, to the rank of general. armies des the affidance

To enable him to refift fo formidable an enemy Mooch. Lewis resolved to remain in his present situation at Mooch, and to cover his infantry with a strong intrenchment. His cavalry, though reduced by defertion, was still superior to that of the enemy; but from this superiority, the nature of the ground, which rifes into hills at a little distance from the river, did not suffer him to derive any considerable advantage. He drew them up as well as the unequal face of the country would permit, on the right of his camp; and upon a hill behind his main army, he placed a squadron of chosen troops, with which he intended either to fix the victory, if it should appear doubtful; or, in case of a defeat, to open a passage through the enemy to his brother, who had now advanced as far as Nimeguen to meet him. He had just time to put his troops in order of battle when d'Avila arrived, having his infantry on the right, and on the left his cavalry, flanked by a body of musqueteers, designed to support them against the superior numbers of the German cavalry. were then of higher ufe.

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BOOK xiii. 1574.

D'Avila began the engagement by fending three hundred men to attack the enemy's lines. The troops which had been appointed to defend them, advanced brilkly towards the Spaniards, and gave them a gallant and resolute reception; but they were foon compelled to retire. The Spaniards followed, and attempted to enter the camp along with them. The action there was bloody and obstinate, and fresh succours hastened from both armies to the affistance of the combatants. But the cotemporary historians differ fo widely from each other in their accounts of this engagement. that it is impossible to know the truth. Some authors affirm, that the Germans acquitted themfelves with honor, and made a bold and vigorous refiltance. Others fay, that only the French troops in count Lewis's army performed their duty, while the Germans refuled to advance unless their arrears were paid, and remained obstinately in their camp till the Spaniards broke into it, and, after making prodigious havock among them, put them to an ignominious flight. In the beginning of the action, the German cavalry proved an overmatch for their antagonists; and having fallen with great fury on that part of the enemy's horse that was nearest them, they drove them to a distance from the field of battle; but when they were forming themselves again for a new attack, some fresh squadrons of the Spanish cavalry advanced, and threw them into disorder. The Spanish musqueteers, who had been placed to support the horse, were then of fignal use. With their shot they

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galled the Germans in flank, and greatly augmented their confusion. Count Lewis and the Palatine attempted, but in vain, to rally them. These princes did every thing to restore the battle that could have been done by the most expert commanders, while they endeavoured to animate their troops by their example, and gave conspicuous proofs of the most heroic valor. Their efforts might have been crowned with fuccess, if a body of Spanish lances had not arrived when the German reiters had begun to give way. The reiters were overpowered; above five hundred of them were killed, and of the infantry between three and four thousand. The victory was decifive, and the value of it to the conquerors was greatly enhanced by the deaths of count Lewis, his brother Henry, and the Palatine; all of whom the cotemporary historians describe as having exerted the highest degree of vigor and intrepidity, although none of these writers were able to procure information of the manner in which they fell. Their death was matter of great lamentation to the protestant confederates, and especially the death of Lewis, who had made so many great exertions in their behalf.

As foon as the prince of Orange received the melancholy news of this disafter, he began to return towards Holland, being convinced that now, when he was deprived of his brother's aid, it would be in vain for him to attempt to keep the field.

Bentivoglio, p. 143. Thuanus, lib. lix. fect. xv. Van Meteren, p. 132.

X111. 1574.

BOOK

BOOK XIII. Mutiny of the Spanish troops.

William expected that they would have immediately followed him, in order to improve their victory, whilft the terror which it inspired was recent; and they would probably have done fo, had not the Spanish troops sullied the glory which they had acquired, by rebelling against their officers on the next day after the battle. D'Avila could not instantly fulfil his engagement to pay their arrears. Almost three years pay was due to them. Even before the present expedition, their patience had been worn out, and it appears to have been the hopes of plunder, or the dread of consequences fatal to themselves, that induced them to march against the Germans, more than their confidence in the promife which d'Avila had made them. Being now freed from their apprehensions of personal danger, and disappointed in their expectations of being enriched by the spoils of the enemy, who were still poorer than themselves, they demanded from their general the immediate fulfilment of his promife; and when they only received new affurances of the same kind as those with which they had been amused before, they threatened to take vengeance on him for his falshood and deceit. He and the other officers endeavoured to appeale them, but in vain. In order to avoid their fury, he was obliged to make his escape secretly from the camp; and immediately after his departure, they ran to arms, expelled their officers, and, having from among themselves elected other officers and a commander in chief, they quickly left Mooch, and directed their march to Antwerp, with an intention

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exp Wer any to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants of that BOOK wealthy city, till they should extort payment of - XIII. their arrears.

Requesens having received intelligence of their They take defign, had remained at Antwerp; and, if he possession of had complied with the country of had complied with the counfel of Champigny, governor of the town, and taken precautions for fecuring a part of the fortifications which was unfinished, he might have frustrated their attempt; but being extremely diffident of the Spanish part of the garrison; which had the same ground of discontent with the mutineers, and flattering himfelf with the hopes of being able to appeale them, he fuffered them to enter the city without resistance, to the number of three thousand men. They had no sooner entered, than they formed themselves in order of battle. The citizens were overwhelmed with terror, and many of them fled precipitately out of the city. Requesens rode up to the mutineers, and remonstrating to them on the pernicious tendency of their conduct, he prayed, entreated, and threatened them; but could not, by addreffing either their hopes or fears, draw any other concession from them, but that they would abstain from plunder, on condition that they should receive immediate payment of their arrears, and that the Walloons and Germans under the command of Champigny should be ordered to quit the town. With this last request, the governor thought it expedient to comply; and thus the mutineers were left in full possession of the place, without any force to controul them. The first object of

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BOOK XIII.

their attention was to fecure the gates, after which they dispersed themselves over the city, and took up their quarters in the houses of the principal inhabitants, where they studied to create expense, and night and day to give disturbance and uneasi-They were perpetually demanding the fulfilment of the governor's engagements; and as they daily threatened to fack and plunder the town, if he did not speedily comply with their requelts, the people were disquieted with continual apprehenfions and alarms. The mutineers required payment not only of their own arrears, but of those too which had been due to such of their companions as had died of difeafes or fallen in battle. At length, the fum of one hundred thousand florins was raised by the inhabitants; governor was obliged to pledge his jewels and furniture for the remainder, and to grant a pardon, confirmed by a folemn oath, to all concerned in this fedition; after which the mutineers returned under their former officers, and went to join the rest of the army which was now in Holland, and had already begun the fiege of Leyden.

May 30. Deftruction of the king's

fleet.

From this mutiny, Philip's interest in the Netherlands suffered greatly in several respects. In the time of d'Avila's expedition against count Lewis, Requesens having exerted his utmost vigor and activity, had equipped a numerous fleet, which he intended to employ in the recovery of Zealand. When the mutineers arrived at Antwerp, this fleet, which was not yet of sufficient strength, lay under the walls of the city. Adolphus Hanstede, the

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commander, anxious for his charge, and apprehenfive that the feditious foldiers might, in order to extort compliance with their demands, take poffeffion of the ships, had removed them to a place at some distance from Antwerp, where they were out of the reach of the Spaniards. But in avoiding this danger he fell into a greater. The Zealanders, whose partisans were continually on the watch, quickly received intelligence of his change of station, and resolved to improve the opportunity which was thus prefented to them. Having attacked him when he was utterly unprepared for defence; they took forty of his ships; funk and destroyed feveral others; and rendered all the rest unfit for fervice. By this fevere blow, the plan which Requesens had projected, for recovering the maritime towns, was entirely disconcerted. The fleet now destroyed, was to have acted in conjunction with another, which Philip had been preparing in the ports of Spain. But as the Spanish fleet, was deemed too weak to contend fingly with the enemy, the defign was laid aside for the present; and no future governor of the Low Countries ever found it practicable to revive it '.

Whilst the Zealanders availed themselves of the sedition in the Spanish army by sea, the prince of Orange had been equally intent on deriving advantage from it by land. On receiving information of the sate of his brothers, he had begun his march, towards Holland; but when intelligence was brought

B O O K XIII. 1574.

Bentivoglio , p. 149 Meteren , 137.

BOOK XIII. 1574.

him that the Spaniards had mutinied, he refolved to improve the prefent opportunity, of making some new acquisition. Passing over into the isle of Bommel, which is formed by the confluence of the Maese and the Rhine, he engaged the chief town in it to espouse his interest; and having fixed his head-quarters there for some time, he gave support to his friends in the island, and reduced to great extremity fuch of the people as still adhered to the Spanish government. The marquis of Vitelli was dispatched by Requesens to oppose his progress. That able commander rendered abortive a delign which the prince had formed on Bois le-duc; and the prince, on the other hand, took measures which prevented the town of Bommel from falling into the hands of Vitelli. But the attention of both was foon after this engroffed by a more important and interesting object, the siege of Leyden, to the relation of which I shall proceed, after mentioning an attempt of Requesens, to put an end to the war, by publishing a new act of indemnity in the name of the king.

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Although several persons were excluded from the benefit of this indemnity, yet it was much more comprehensive than that which had been published some time before by the duke of Alva. It did not, however, produce the desired effect. The people were not conscious of that guilt which Philip's pompous deed of clemency imputed to them; they believed that they had suffered wrong, instead of having done it; and they could not be grateful to him for dispensing with a punishment,

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which they thought it would have been in the highest degree tyrannical to inflict. Besides this, the pardon was clogged with a condition, by which almost all the inhabitants of Holland and Zealand. amounting to many hundred thousands, and great numbers too in the other provinces, were excluded. This was, that the protestants should renounce their religion, and return into the bosom of the church; a condition from which Philip's bigotry would never fuffer him to depart, nor the zeal and fincerity of the reformers permit them to accept. Requesens could not be ignorant of this, yet he entertained fome hopes at this time of bringing about an accommodation, by means of St. Aldegonde, who had not as yet obtained his liberty. The governor fent Champigny and Junius de Jong to treat with him; but when St. Aldegonde informed them that no peace would be ever agreed to by the maritime provinces, unless the question concerning religion were left to the decision of the States, Requesens, who knew that Philip would never confent to that condition; ordered the conference to be immediately diffolved .

He now bent his whole attention to the fiege of Leyden. He had blockaded that city for feveral months in the winter feason, and reduced the inhabitants to great distress; but he had been obliged to desist from his undertaking, and to call off his troops to oppose the German army. They left their stations in the neighbourhood of Leyden

BOOK XIII. 1574.

The fiege of Leyden.

hipperially action earliest much television and

Bentivoglio, p. 150.

NOOK on the 21st of March, and refumed them on the

1574.

In order to form a just conception of the operations of this memorable fiege, it is necessary to remember that Leyden lies in a low fituation, in the midst of a labyrinth of rivulets and canals. The city was large and populous; and at the time of the fiege was furrounded with a deep ditch, and a strong wall, flanked with bastions. That branch of the Rhine which still retains its ancient name. passes through the middle of it; and from this stream such an infinity of canals are derived, that it is difficult to fav whether the water or the land possesses the greater space. By the canals, the ground on which the city stands is divided into a great number of small islands, united together by near a hundred and fifty stone-bridges, that are equally subservient to the beauty of the place, and the convenience of the inhabitants. Leyden is at the distance of a few hours journey from the Hague, Delft, and Gouda, and only a little farther from Rotterdam on the one hand, and Haerlem on the other. On account of its fituation, as well as on its own account, it was deemed a place of the first importance, and a prize worthy of all the ardor which was displayed by the contending

The prince of Orange, who had received notice of the governor's intention to renew the fiege, communicated his intelligence to the citizens; and exhorted them to furnish themselves with stores of provisions, and to send out of the town all such

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1574.

perfons as would be useless in defending it. They BOOK were not sufficiently attentive to these injunctions. The prince complained of their remissiness. and informed them, that for three months at least it would not be in the power of the States to raife

the fiege.

To retard the approach of the Spaniards, he ordered ten companies of English adventurers, under the command of colonel Edward Chester, to take possession of two forts, one at the fluice of Gouda. and the other at the village of Alphen, by which the enemy must pass in their way to the city. These troops did not answer the expectation which William had conceived of their behaviour. The five companies which were placed at the fluice of Gouda, after a short resistance, betook themselves to flight; and the other five, after a skirmish in which no person fell on either side, basely imitated the example of their countrymen, and retired under the walls of Leyden. The citizens, who from their ramparts had beheld their ignominious behaviour, and suspected them of treachery, resuled to admit them within the town. The English ascribed their conduct to the infufficiency of the fortifications which they had been appointed to defend; but not being able to wipe out the suspicion entertained of their fidelity, they all deserted to the enemy, but a few whom the people of Leyden received with open arms ...

The prince of Orange having intended, that the English forces, after being obliged to quit their

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Meteren, p. 139.

XIII.

1574.

first stations, should have retired into the town, had not provided any other troops to defend it. The inhabitants were therefore reduced to the necessity of trusting for their defence, to their own valor and conduct: a circumstance, which at first had a formidable aspect, but which in the end proved the cause of their preservation; since it was thereby much longer before they were reduced by famine, than it would have been, if, besides themfelves, they had had a numerous garrison to fupport.

Janus Douza, chief magistrate of Leyden.

The government of Leyden was committed on this occasion to Janus Douza", a person of noble birth; and well known in the literary world, by his poetical productions. By his example, and his eloquence, this illustrious patriot kindled in the minds of his fellow-citizens, fuch a zeal for liberty, and so great an abhorrence of the tyranny of Spain, as rendered them superior to every distress, and in a great measure supplied their want of military skill. They must, however, have been found inferior to the Spaniards; and if Valdez, the Spanish commander, to whom Requesens committed the The blockade conduct of the fiege, had pushed his operations with proper vigor, he must certainly have made himself master of the town. But whether he wanted to fave his men, and to carry his end without bloodshed; or despaired, with the skill and force which he possessed, to be able to reduce so

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Or Jan Vander Does, lord of Noordwick.

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strong a place by fack and storm, he did not think of any other expedient for subduing it, but that of blocking it up on all sides, so as to prevent the entrance of supplies. To this one point all his operations were directed. By a circular chain of more than sixty forts, which communicated with each other, and ran quite round the city, he invested it on every side, and not only rendered it impossible to introduce supplies, but even cut off all intelligence between the besieged and their friends in the other cities, except what was conveyed by pigeons, in the manner to which the protestants had recourse during the blockade of Haerlem.

B O O K XIII. 1574.

By one of the forts called Lammen, the befieged having been deprived of the benefit of pasturing their cattle in the neighbouring meadows, they sallied out with great fury upon the Spaniards, and almost got possession of the fort; but after an obstinate and bloody contest, they were at last obliged to retire. The Spaniards fortified themselves in that station more strongly than before; and the besieged now despaired of being able, either in that, or any other quarter, to remove them to a greater distance from the city. Instead of this, they apprehended daily their nearer approach to it; and expected that they would soon open their batteries, in order to prepare for taking it by storm. This belief served to quicken the inhabitants;

Conduction of the inhabitants.

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VOL. II.

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These pigeons were embalmed, and are still preserved in the town-house of Leyden. Les delices des Pays bas.

BOOK XIII. 2574and the women as well as the men were employed day and night, without ceasing, in strengthening the fortifications. An account was taken of the stock of provisions within the town; and in order to make it hold out as long as possible they began to husband it betimes. They were perpetually exhorting and animating each other, and expatiating upon the cruelty and persidy of the Spaniards, and the unworthy sate of the people of Zutphen, Haerlem, and other places, who had trusted to their faith and mercy. When they were solicited to return to their allegiance by Lanoy, De Lique, and other natives of the Low Countries; they made answer, in the words of a celebrated Latin Poet,

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Fistula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps.

To other letters, in which they were defired to reflect on the mifery to which they must ere long be reduced, they replied, that they had, upon the most mature consideration, resolved rather to die of hunger, or to perish with their wives and children in the slames of the city, kindled by their own hands, than submit to the tyranny of the Spaniards \*\*.

Their diftrefs.

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That milery which, during the first two months of the siege, existed only in idea, was at last realized. Their whole stock of ordinary provisions being consumed, they were obliged to have

fome historians; That rather than submit to so perfidious an enemy, they would feed on their lest arms, and defend themselves with their right. Van Meteren, ubi supra.

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recourse to the flesh of dogs and horses. Great numbers died of want; and many by the use of this unnatural food. The resolution of the people at length began to fail, and they now believed their present calamities to be superior even to those they should experience under the Spanish government. Some of them conceived a defign to deliver up the town, and formed a fecret affociation for this purpole. But their plot being detected, means were taken to prevent them from putting it in execution. A great number of people having come one day in a tumultuous manner to a magistrate whose name was Adrian. exclaiming that he ought either to give them food, or deliver the town into the hands of the enemy, "I have folemnly fworn, he replied, that I will never furrender myself, or my fellowcitizens, to the cruel and perfidious Spaniard; and I will fooner die than violate my oath. I have no food, else I would give it you. But if my death can be, of use to you, take, tear me in pieces, and devour me; I shall die with satisfaction, if I know that by my death I shall for one moment relieve you from your direful necessity."

By this extraordinary answer, the people, ftruck with astonishment, were silenced, and their fury

was for some time appealed.

The prince of Orange, who was not ignorant of the extreme mifery to which the belieged were reduced, had done every thing in his power to accomplish their relief. He had already collected large supplies of provisions; but could not,

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BOOK XIII. . 3574.

with all his activity and address, raise a sufficient force to open a passage into the city. When he found that the fituation of the befieged would not admit of longer delay, he convened an affembly of the States of the province. And the deputies, after confidering the ftrength of the enemy, and the amount of their own forces, perceived it to be impracticable to relieve the belieged, either by land, or by the river and canals, agreed to have recourse to an expedient, which was dictated by despair, and was the only one at present in their power to employ. They refolved to avail themselves, against the Spaniards, of that furious element, from which their country had often fuffered the most dreadful devastation; to open their fluices, to break down the dikes of the Maele and the Isel, and by thus laying all the country round Leyden under water, to get access to the befieged with their fleet. Nothing could be more repugnant to the ideas of this people, than fuch a resolution. To drain their lands, to exclude the water, and preserve their dikes, were then, as they are still, objects to the Dutch of almost continual attention, and which cost them annually an immense expense. But they were at present animated by objects still more important and interesting; and their love of liberty, joined to their dread of popery and the Spanish yoke, prevailed over every other confideration. The damage, which it was supposed would arise from the measure adopted, was estimated at fix hundred thousand guilders. But they confidered, that if the Spaniards should succeed in their present enterprise, not only

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XIII.

1574.

the region to be overflowed, but all the rest of BOOK the province, would fall under their subjection. This the States regarded as infinitely worse than either poverty or death; and in their present disposition, they would have chosen to ruin the country altogether, rather than leave it to be enjoyed by an enemy whom they held in fuch abhorrence. They now applied themselves to the demolition of those mounds, upon which their existence as a nation depends, with a degree of industry and arder, equal to that which they were accustomed to employ in repairing them, after the ravages of an inundation. ided ower brought

The water, after its barriers were removed, diffused itself over all the adjacent fields; and in a few days, almost the whole region which lies between Rotterdam, Gouda, Delft, and Leyden, was overflowed. The Spaniards were thrown at first into the utmost dread and terror; but when they understood the cause of this unexpected inundation, and observed that the water did not rife above a certain height, they recovered from their aftonishment. They were obliged to abandon fuch of their forts as were fituated in the lower grounds, and to retire to those which stood higher: but of these last, they hoped to be able to keep possession, and to continue the blockade, till the famine, which they knew raged in the town with dreadful fury, should conquer the obstinacy of the citizens, and bring the fiege to a conclusion.

The prince of Orange, in the mean time, was employed with the utmost diligence in preparing

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BOOK XIII. 1574.

every thing necessary to fecure the successful execution of his intended purpole. He ordered to be built, at Rotterdam and other places, near two hundred flat-bottomed vessels, having each of them ten, twelve, fourteen, or fixteen oars; and these he mounted with guns, and manned with eight hundsed Zealanders; a rude and favage, but a brave and determined band, animated at once by religious zeal, and the most implacable hatred against the Spaniards; and whose appearance was rendered horrid by the scars of innumerable wounds. which they had received in their late naval engagements. They were brought from the fleet by Boiffot, the admiral of Zealand, to whom the conduct of the present enterprise was committed".

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With fuch of the veffels as were already equipped, Beissot lest Delft in the beginning of September, and directed his course towards Levden. But the water had not as yet rifen to a sufficient height, and the banks of the rivers and canals, in which only there was a proper depth of water, were to strongly fortified, as to render his approach to the city impracticable. From some of their forts he obliged the Spaniards to retire, but others were of fufficient frength to withstand his most vigorous attacks. In order to avoid these, he continued to break down more dikes as he

which they knew reced in the daidy

The spirit by which these men were actuated, may be conceived from their method of diltinguishing themfelves; which was by wearing a half moon on their caps, with this inscription, Turks rather than papists. Meteren, 140.

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advanced, and in his progress, had several bloody engagements with the enemy. The blockade, however, remained still as close as ever. Boissot began to be apprehensive of the issue. Heaven feemed not to favor his defign. The north-wind continued much longer than had been ever known at the present season, and retarded the water in its ascent. The prince of Orange, when Boissot entered upon, this expedition, had been confined to his chamber by a dangerous illness. He was now recovered, and came to visit the admiral's dispofition of his ships, which he found to be exactly conformable to the directions which the States had given him; but their defign, the prince perceived. must prove abortive, and all their labor and expenfe be loft, unless the wind should change soon to another quarter, and the autumnal tides rife as pfual.

With extreme impatience they now expected the approach of these tides, which are commonly the subject of dread and terror to the Hollanders. The situation of the besieged was become the most deplorable and desperate. During seven weeks there had not been a morsel of bread within the city; and the only food had been the roots of herbs and weeds, and the sless of dogs and horses. Even all these were at length consumed; and the people reduced to live on soup made of the hides of animals which had been killed. A pestilence succeeded to the samine, and carried off in a few weeks some thousands of the inhabitants. Those who survived, overwhelmed with anguish at the

BOOK XIII. 1574

The anxiety and mifery of the citizens. BQQK XIII, 4574-

dismal scenes which they daily beheld, were fcarcely able to perform the mournful office of burying the dead. In this dreadful fituation, they faw from their walls, the fails and flags of the veffels destined for their relief; but had the mortification to perceive, that it was utterly impossible for them to approach. It is not furprifing that fome of the people, finding their mifery greater than they were able to endure, should have entertained the thoughts of furrendering the town to the enemy. Some conspiracies were again formed for this purpose; but they were discovered and defeated by the vigilance of Douza, supported by a great majority of the people, to whom neither the pestilence, nor famine, nor death, in its most hideous forms, appeared so dreadful, as the tyranny of the Spaniards.

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But the time of their deliverance was at hand; and Heaven interposed at last in a conspicuous manner in their behalf. Towards the end of September, the wind changing from the north east to the north-west, poured the ocean into the mouths of the rivers with uncommon violence; and then veering about to the south, it pushed the water towards the plains of Leyden, till they were converted into a spacious lake, in which the Spanish forts were seen scattered up and down, and many of them almost covered with the water.

Boissot feized with ardor the opportunity which was thus presented to him. And though several of the enemy's fortifications still lay in the way by which it was necessary for him to advance,

he foon obliged the Spaniards to abandon them. BOOK The Zealanders pursued them, sometimes on foot along the dikes, and fometimes in their boats; and had feveral fierce rencounters with them, in which, from the advantage which their boats afforded them, they were every where victorious. The situation of the Spanish troops at this time was truly deplorable. Some were swallowed up in the mud and water; and others attempting to march along the dikes, were either killed by the fire from the boats, or dragged down with hooks fixed to the ends of long poles, and put to the fword without mercy. Fifteen bundred perished in their retreat.

All the forts were now forfaken, except the fort above mentioned, called Lammen, of which, if the Spaniards had kept possession, they might have retarded the approach of the fleet for several days. This fort was much stronger, and stood higher than the rest. But when the garrison understood that their general had fled, and that the Zealanders on the one hand, and the belieged on the other, were preparing to begin an attack, they abandoned their station, and by torch-light effectuated a junction with the rest of the forces, in the middle of the night.

In this manner was the fiege of Leyden raised, in the beginning of the fifth month after the blockade was formed. Boiffot advanced without delay to the gates of the city. The people, pale and meagre, ran, as their small remains of strength would allow, to meet him; and many of them fo

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B O O K XIII. 1574. greedily devoured the food which he distributed, that what was intended for their relief, proved the cause of their instant destruction; for provisions of every kind in the city had been entirely exhausted, and the besieged were so weakened, that if the blockade had continued two days

longer, they must all have perished ".

When they were somewhat refreshed with the food which Boissot had brought, they accompanied the magistrates to one of the churches, where they rendered thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance. Never was any assembly more deeply agitated. By the consideration of their signal and unexpected deliverance, when they were upon the brink of ruin, joined to their remembrance of the dismal scenes which they had witnessed, and of the many friends and fellow-citizens whom the samine and pestilence had carried off, their minds were overpowered at once with gratitude and forrow. They were dissolved in tears; and mingled together the voices of praise and of lamentation.

The cotemporary historians have further recorded,

They escaped still more narrowly from falling into the hands of the enemy. In the night immediately preceding, and at the very time when the Spaniards were making their retreat from the fort of Lammen, a great part of the wall of the city having fallen down, the noise reached the ears of the Spaniards; who, if they had known the cause, might have entered the town without relistance. But their dread represented the noise to their imaginations as the approach of the enemy, and served only to precipitate their slight.

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The enterprise of a leaded or from ground evidence and co hundred ceived

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that when the prince of Orange received informa- BOOK tion of the raifing of the fiege, being engaged in public worship in one of the churches at Delft, he stood up, and read to the audience the letters which contained the intelligence, after which, the States being convened, a day of general thankfgiving was appointed.

The Spanish army took their route by the way of Amsterdam and Utrecht, and attempted to get possession of the last of these places by surprise; but the gates being shut against them, and a contribution of money offered, they were prevailed on to pursue their march towards Maestricht. where they were put into winter-quarters 13.

Meteren, p. 139. Meursii Auriacus, p. 130. Bentivoglio , p. 151.

The Spaniards threw all the blame of the failure of their enterprise upon their general; whom they accused of having been remiss in his operations against the town, on account of a bribe of two hundred thousand florins, which they alledged he had accepted, either from the States of Holland or from the people of Leyden. Whether there was any ground for this accusation, does not appear with sufficient evidence. But the foldiers flew to arms, seized his person and confined him; till he agreed to pay them the two hundred thousand florins, which, they said, he had received from the Hollanders.

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BOOK XIII. 1575. Negociations for peace.

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water a chur and read an the aude or booth a THE difficulties which the Spaniards encountered in the feveral enterprises that have been related, gave Philip a very different idea of the spirit, vigor, and resources of the malecontents, from what he had hitherto entertained; and determined him to listen to an offer, which his coufin the emperor Maximilian made at this time. of mediating a reconcilement. Maximilian was prompted to interpole his influence, partly perhaps by concern for the interest of his kinfman. but chiefly by his apprehension, that through the close connexion which subsisted between the Dutch and German protestants, the flame which raged with so much fury in the Low Countries, might at last diffuse itself into Germany. Having therefore interceded with Philip to grant the infurgents favorable terms, and obtained powers to negociate an agreement, he transferred these powers to count Schwartzenburgh, whom he fent into Holland, in the beginning of the year 1575, attended by feveral German nobles. On the count's arrival in Dort, he had an interview with his kinfman the prince of Orange; with whom he employed all his own influence, and that of the emperor, from whom he brought a confidential letter to the prince. From the respect due to the emperor, William consented to a congress in the city of Breda. But as he could not be perfuaded, that Philip would

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be ever brought to offer conditions, which the States could accept with fafety, he believed, that the treaty proposed would prove abortive, and therefore he exhorted the States to keep themselves in a posture of defence, and to prosecute with vigor their preparations for renewing the war, when the congress should be dissolved. The prince himself was not of the number of the deputies; nor did those who were appointed, though less obnoxious to Philip's refentment, think it fafe to trust themselves in the power of the Spaniards in Breda, till Romero, and Mondragone, and two other persons of distinction, were sent into Holland as hostages.

From the proceedings at this congress, and the mutual distrust which the deputies discovered, the reader will eafily perceive the causes which rendered ineffectual, not only the present attempt. but likewise all the endeavours which were afterwards employed, during the space of forty years,

to reconcile the contending parties.

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The demands of the States of Holland and Zea. March 14th. land confifted of two articles; that the governor should immediately dismiss the foreign troops; and that a general affembly of the States of all the provinces should be held to determine the several points in controverly, whether civil or religious.

In answer to these requests, the Spanish deputies observed, that it was unreasonable to call the Spaniards by the name of foreigners, fince they were equally the subjects of the king as the people of the Netherlands, and had done him the most signal BOOK XIII. 1575.

8 0 0 K XIII. 1575. fervice, in that very country from which he was now requested to expel them. That the Germans, French, and English, in the service of the States. might with much greater propriety be denominated foreigners. That the king did not intend, in case peace were established, to retain the Spanish troops in the Low Countries any longer than necessity should require; but that it would be highly improper to urge him any further on this subject, as he could not, confistently with honor, dismiss the forces in the present posture of his affairs. They added, that after tranquillity was restored, the king would not be averse to the convocation of the States, nor oppose their deliberating concerning fuch affairs as properly belonged to them. That he would be ever ready to liften to their counsel, and would regulate his conduct agreeably to it in every thing that was just and reasonable. And that, in the mean time, he was graciously pleased to make them an offer of a full indemnity of their past offences, upon the following conditions: That all cities and forts, with their artillery and stores, should be delivered into his hands; that every heretical form of worship should be profcribed; and that all fuch persons as were unwilling to forfake their errors, should dispose of their effects and leave the country.

To these declarations and offers of the Spanish deputies, those of the States replied, that notwithstanding what had been said, they must still adhere to their first request of having the provinces delivered from the oppression of the Spanish and other

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foreign troops. These troops were indeed subjects of the king of Spain; but they were not subjects of the duke of Brabant, or the earl of Flanders, Holland, or any other of the provinces, in which therefore they could not be suffered to remain. without a violation of a fundamental law of the constitution. It was true, that the French and English troops were foreigners; but these troops had come into the Low Countries at the defire of the States; they had never assumed to themselves any share in the government, and were deemed necessary by the States for their defence against the Spaniards; whereas the Spaniards had, from their first entrance into the Netherlands, treated the inhabitants as enemies and flaves; had arrogated to themselves every important branch of the adminiftration, and had, on many occasions, exercised the most unrelenting cruelty, indulging, in the most abandoned manner, their lawless lust and avarice, to the utter ruin of great numbers of the innocent and faithful subjects of the king. It would be impossible to restore tranquillity to the provinces while these men were allowed to remain, nor were they friends to the king or the peace proposed. who advised him to retain them. If the service which the king had received from his Spanish troops, were compared with the mischief of which they had been the authors, it would be found that they had done infinitely greater harm than good; and that, by the lawless rapine which they had exercifed, they had received much more than a fufficient compensation for all their services. The

BOOK XIII. 1575. BOOK XIII. 575. inhabitants of the Low Countries were conscious of having often contributed to advance the glory of the Spanish crown. Nor could even their late conduct, if justly considered, be interpreted as a breach of their duty to the king, since they had never opposed his exercising any rights which appertained to him as sovereign of the provinces; and although they had taken up arms, they had never employed them but in vindicating those rights and privileges which the king himself had sworn to maintain, or in defending their lives and fortunes, their wives and children, against the violence and lawless tyranny of the Spaniards.

It gave them much concern to find, that the king would not agree to fummon an affembly of the States till peace should be restored, as they were convinced that no other means so effectual could be devifed for establishing peace on a firm and permanent foundation. It gave them still greater concern to hear the deputies, in the name of the king, express themselves, as if they looked upon the States only as counsellors, whose advice he would or would not follow, according as he should judge expedient. This they could not help confidering as an intimation, that the States were to be limited in the exercise of their authority; and if this was intended, no useful purpose could be ferved by calling them together. With the conditions annexed to the proffered indemnity, it was impossible they could comply. They could not deliver the cities and forts into the hands of the Spaniards, without being apprehensive of the fraud

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exemplified in the fable of the war between the wolves and the sheep, in which the latter were perfuaded to give up their auxiliaries, the dogs, into the hands of their crafty foes. For they had not forgotten the fate of the counts Egmont and Horn, and many others, who repented, when it was too late, of putting faith in promifes which their enemies could violate with impunity. And with respect to the other condition; that all heretics should quit the country, as they could not believe the religion now established in Holland and Zealand to be heretical; so if all who had renounced the popish faith were to be deemed heretics, and expelled from the Netherlands, there would not be a sufficient number left to keep the dikes in repair; the country would be stript of the greatest part of its inhabitants, and ere long be buried in the waves. They concluded with entreating the deputies to take the representation they had made in good part, as proceeding from their zeal for the interest of the king as well as of the provinces; and with praying Almighty God to inspire the king and his ministers with milder fentiments than those which they had hitherto

In the reply which was made to this remonfirance, the Spanish deputies, after complaining of the spirit in which it was composed, said that the king would so far comply with the request relative to the foreign troops, as to send them away immediately after the terms of peace were settled; provided the States would at the same time dismits

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BOOK the foreigners in their service, and deliver up the cities and other fortified places. He would likewife fummon the affembly of the States, as foon as the prefent disturbances had subsided; but he could not, confistently with his dignity, submit to their decision, the conditions on which peace was to be established; since this would be to abandon what he regarded as his peculiar prerogative, and to allow them to prescribe where it was their duty to obey. In particular, he was determined never to refer to their decision the important question concerning religion. The States, as well as the king, had fworn to maintain the catholic faith; and no confideration would ever prevail on him to fuffer them to depart from it in the smallest article. He was not afraid of depopulating the maritime provinces by the expulsion of heretics; on the contrary, he believed that these provinces would flourish more, for that tranquillity which unity of faith would enfure; and if the heretical ministers were removed, he doubted not that the people would foon perceive the folly into which they had been betrayed, and return into the bosom of the church.

May 31ft. Final anfwer of the States.

The deputies of Holland and Zealand, after confulting their constituents, gave the following as their ultimate reply, That they were willing to refer the feveral points of difference, the dismission of the Spanish troops, the delivering of the cities, forts, and military stores, the nature of the security to be given for the fulfilment of the condition of the peace, and even the article of religion, to

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the general affembly of the States of all the provinces: and they were willing, they faid, to make the last of these concessions, not from any intention of giving up their religion, which no confideration would induce them to forfake; but from the deep concern which they felt on account of the long continued calamities of their fellow-citizens; to put an end to which, they were ready to abandon their native country, if the States should find it necessary to establish a religion; with which their consciences would not suffer them to comply.

Count Schwarzenburgh, now perceived that no greater concession could reasonably be expected. He represented to the governor, that considering how deep the protestant religion had struck its roots in the maritime provinces, the extirpation of it could not be speedily accomplished; and he urged him to grant a truce for fix months, during which time the exercise of that religion should be permitted, and every lenient measure employed to footh and conciliate the minds of the people. But Requesens had not authority from the king to agree to this request; and he refused to grant even a truce of two months, except on condition that the protestants should abstain from their mode of religious worship, and oblige their ministers immediately to quit the country. With this condition Count Schwarzenburgh knew that the maritime provinces would never be perfuaded to comply. He therefore despaired of being able to bring his negociation to the defired iffue, and foon after fet out for Germany. The congress was

BOOK XIII. 1575.

The conferences diffolved.

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dissolved. The hostages were restored; and the BOOK XIII. contending parties, having their refentment more 1575. inflamed than ever, applied themselves to the

profecution of the war ...

The war renewed.

July 12th.

The deputies had no fooner left Breda, than Requefens published an edict, prohibiting all communication with the malecontents; and immediately afterwards fent his troops, under the count de Hierges, to lay fiege to the town of Buren; which they foon obliged to capitulate. From Buren they marched to Oude-water, and in spite of a brave and vigorous defence, they took it by ftorm; exercifing at this place their wonted fury, and putting the garrison and all the inhabitants to the fword, without distinction either of fex or age. Hierges proceeded next to Schowen upon the Leck. The prince of Orange made hafte to fend a reinforcement to the garrison. But the inhabitants dreading the same fate as that of the people of Oude-water, obliged the garrison to furrender. After which, Hierges directed his march towards Crimpen. Vitelli, in the mean time, with the forces under his command, reduced a number of places which lie between the Leck and the Vahal; and Mondragone was no less successful in the quarter of Holland, which borders upon Brabant.

The gover. But Requesens did not incline that his troops nor under- should push their conquests in Holland any furconquest of ther at present. In compliance with his instructions, he resolved to bend his whole attention to the reduction of some of the principal towns in

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Meteren, p. 146. - 152. Bentivoglio, lib. ix. ab initio.

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Zealand, which Philip was defirous of acquiring, for the reception of a fleet to be fent from Spain. In order to accomplish this design, Requesens drew off his troops from Holland; and had, fome time before, prepared a number of flat-bottomed veffels. proportioned to the depth of the gulfs and canals. In these vessels he intended to have transported his troops to Zealand; but the prince of Orange having received intelligence of his defign, and collected a naval force of the same kind, much fuperior in number, he relinquished his first plan. and adopted another that seemed equally difficult and dangerous. This was to imitate what was done by Mondragone, when he raifed the fiege of Tergoes, and to make the foldiers wade through an arm of the fea, which was five miles broad.

In the north-east parts of Zealand, there are three islands much larger than the rest, Tolen, Duveland, and Schowen. Tolen, which lies nearest to Brabant, was in the hands of the Spaniards; and between this island and Duveland, lies the little isle of Philipsland, which is separated from Duveland by the canal, or arm of the sea, over which Requesens intended that his forces should pass on foot. It was known from some experiments which had been made, that this canal was fordable; nor was it quite so broad as that which Mondragone's troops had passed over to the relief of Tergoes. But there was still much reason to suspect that the attempt would be found impracticable.

Such of the officers as were of this opinion, observed that there was a wide difference between the

BOOK XIII.

Bold and fingular enterprife of the Spaniards. BOOK XIII. 1575.

enterprise in question, and that of Mondragone, whose men had no other obstacles to encounter but those of the passage, and needed only strength and patience to ensure success; whereas, in the present case, the enemy had taken the alarm, and were continually upon the watch; the ford was in a manner befieged by their numerous veffels, which were ready to attack the Spaniards; when they would be unable to defend themselves. And even allowing that they should furmount these difficulties, and effectuate their passage, yet what remained for them, on their approach to the opposite shore, but to be attacked by a fresh and vigorous enemy, advantageously posted before they could disentangle themselves from the mud and water.

By these considerations some of the principal officers were induced to remonstrate against the intended enterprise, as too hazardous and desperate; and they were of opinion, that no attempt ought to be made on Zealand till the fleet from Spain fhould arrive. But this prudent counsel was not fuited to the bold intrepid spirit which animated the greater part of the Spanish officers. The remembrance of their former victories, joined to their contempt of the malecontents, inspired them with confidence of fuccess; and they were unwilling to divide the glory of their conquests with their countrymen, who were supposed to be on their way from Spain. If this enterprise, faid they, be impracticable in the day, why may we not undertake it in the night; when we shall either elude the vigilance of the enemy; or, if they

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1575.

get information of our design, yet we shall have little reason to dread their efforts, as they will be obliged to fire their guns at random, and spend their force in air. The troops posted on the other side to oppose our landing, will act, as their countrymen have often done on similar occasions. The boldness of our adventure, and the daring countenances of our men, will overwhelm their dastardly spirits with dismay and terror.

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Requesens was not naturally fond of rash or daring enterprises; but being exceedingly desirous to carry his scheme of subduing Zealand into speedy execution, he transported three thousand select troops, composed of an equal number of Spaniards, Walloons and Germans, to the isle of Philipsland. Then having ordered d'Avila to attend him with the sleet, on board which he put one half of these forces, he gave the command of the other half, destined to attempt the passage, to Osorio d'Ulloa, a Spanish officer of distinguished courage, who had warmly exhorted him to undertake this bold and singular expedition.

On the 28th of September, as foon as it was dark, and the tide had begun to retire, Ulloa entered the water at the head of his troops, with the guides before him. The troops were followed by two hundred pioneers; and the rear-guard was formed by a company of Walloons, commanded by an officer of the name of Peralta. They could march only three men a breast, on the top of a ridge of earth or fand, and were often obliged to

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BOOK XIII. 1575.

wade up to the shoulders, and to bear their muskets on their heads, to preserve them from the water. They had advanced but a little way, when the Dutch and Zealanders approached, and began a furious discharge of their small arms and artillery. And not fatisfied with this, many of them leaped into the water, and with hooks fastened to the ends of long poles, laid hold of the foldiers, oppressed with the weight of the element through which they toiled; maffacring some, and plunging others in the waves. Nothing but the darkness of the night, which prevented the two fquadrons of the enemy's ships from acting in concert, could have faved the royalists from destruction. But, notwithstanding the difficulties under which they labored, they perfisted bold and dauntless in their course, exhorting and affifting one another; and without quitting their ranks, repelling the enemy, and defending themselves as well as their desperate circumstances would allow. Their calamities increased as they approached to the opposite shore. For besides, that their vigor was impaired, they had deeper water to pass, and the enemy's ships could come nearer to the ford. At last, however, they reached the land, in time to fave themselves from destruction. The banks were lined with a numerous body of troops; and if these troops had behaved with an ordinary degree of refolution, it is impoffible that the Spaniards, drenched as they were with mud and water, and exhaufted with fatigue, could have flood before them. But unfortunately, in the beginning of the attack, their commander was

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killed, by an accidental shot of one of his own BOOK men. Consternation seized his troops, and they still.

fled in the most dastardly manner, before an enemy unable to pursue.

This extraordinary adventure, though it fucceeded beyond what could justly have been expected, was not executed without loss. The pioneers were all either overtaken by the tide, or destroyed by the enemy. The rear guard under Peralta faved themselves by returning back. Of the troops under Ulloa, a considerable number was killed or drowned, and others wounded. But among the killed there was only one person of distinction, named Pacheco; concerning whom it is recorded, that being wounded by a musketshot, and unable to advance, and some of his men urging him to fuffer them to bear him on their shoulders; he replied, " That would serve only to retard your march. My wound is mortal; I die, and not without some honor in so glorious an enterprise." Saying this, he funk down into the water ".

<sup>27</sup> Bentivoglio, p. 168. This historian gives the same authority for the above-mentioned particulars, as for those of the passage at Tergoes; the testimony of Rivas, governor of Cambray, who was an actor in both.

The Spaniards were not a little encouraged by an appearance then rare, but fince familiar and common, an Aurora Borealis, or northern light; which shone all the time of their passage, and which they interpreted as a sign wrought by Heaven in their behalf.

BOOK XIII. 1575.

When the Dutch and Zealanders faw that, in fpite of their opposition, the royalists had accomplished their design, they quitted the canal, and went to give notice of what had happened to the inhabitants of the fea-port towns, which they supposed the enemy intended to attack. Requefens immediately laid hold of the opportunity which their departure afforded him, to transport the rest of his forces to Duveland; where they joined their companions, and foon compelled all the protestant troops on the island to fly over to Ziricfee, the capital of Schowen.

The reduction of that city was the immediate and principal object of the prefent expedition. For besides, that Requesens hoped, by possessing Ziricfee, to be able to disturb the communication between Holland and Zealand, he confidered it as the fittest place for the reception of the reinforcement which he expected from Spain; and he intended to make it the feat of his strength in that quarter, till he should collect a naval force sufficient to ensure the conquest of Middleburgh, Flushing, and the other towns in Walcheren. Towards Ziricfee, the army now commanded by Mondragone, proceeded without delay. Before they could reach it, they found it necessary to pass over the canal, which separates Duveland from Schowen, and on the opposite side of which they saw the enemy prepared to dispute their passage. This did not deter them from the profecution of their defign. Animated by the example of their leaders, they leaped

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without hesitation into the canal, which was near BOOK a league over, having the bottom full of mud, and advanced forward with fuch undaunted intrepidity, that the enemy, regarding them as more than men, abandoned their station, and left the passage free and undisputed.

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Mondragone would have immediately begun The despethe fiege of Ziricsee, but thought it necessary before- rate defence hand to make himself master of certain posts, which the Zealanders had fortified, in order to fecure the communication between the inhabitants of that town, and their friends in the other islands and on the continent. These forts were three in number: one on the fouth near Borendam, and the other two called Browershaven and Bommene, on the north and east. Through the imprudent confidence of the Spaniards, who made an affault on the first of these forts too soon, it cost the lives of fixty of that nation, with Peralta their commander; besides a considerable number of Germans and Walloons. The fort of Browershaven submitted without refistance; but that of Bommene, which was better fortified, was likewise more valiantly defended than the other two. Du Lis, a French officer, commanded the garrison, confisting of Germans, French, and English; into whose breasts he had infused the same generous and dauntless fpirit with which he himself was animated. The behaviour and fate of this brave determined garrifon deserves a place in history. At the time of

high water their fortification was impregnable, as

XIII. 1575:

B O O K XIII.

at that time the fea filled both the ditch which furrounded it, and a canal which passed through it; but at low water, and for some hours before and after that time, the ditch was fordable, and the enemy could advance to the very foot of the Both Requesens and Vitelli had come to direct the operations of the fiege. Agreeably to their commands, the royalifts, after approaching as near as possible to the ditch, by means of trenches, opened a large battery, which continued firing upon the fort for two days inceffantly, till a fufficient breach was made. Then waiting till the water had retired, they made a furious affault; but the belieged withstood their most vigorous efforts, and at last obliged them to retire, with the loss of a hundred and fifty killed, and twice that number wounded. The Spaniards, enraged on account of their repulse and loss, returned to the affault next day, and began to storm the fort on different fides at the same time. Both parties were highly agitated with fury and despair, and both were alike determined either to die or conquer. The prospect of the returning tide wrought equally on the fears of the affailants, and the hopes of the besieged. The former knew, that if they did not carry their point foon, they must a second time fuffer the shame and slaughter of a repulse, and the latter considered, that if they could hold out a few hours longer, the water would deliver them for the present, and the enemy be perhaps deterred from renewing the affault. Incited by

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these reflections, the combatants on both fides exerted all their vigor, and displayed a degree of fortitude and prowefs which feldom occurs in the annals of history. Each person regardless of his fafety, and intent only upon annoying the enemy, the conflict was as bloody and desperate, as the time was critical and important. It had lasted for near fix hours, and many of the bravest on both fides had fallen. At last, the affailants, perceiving the quick approach of the tide, and collecting and exerting at once their whole force, overpowered the besieged with their numbers, and burst forward irrefiftibly within the walls of the fort; in which the garrison still continued to refist, till there was not a fingle person left to enjoy the glory of fo illustrious a defence. The royalists paid dear for their victory; above two hundred men, besides those who had fallen in the first affault, were killed upon the fpot, and a much greater number wounded 11.

They now proceeded to the fiege of Ziricfee; and in this undertaking their difficulties were greatly augmented, and the fiege prolonged by a refolution of the inhabitants, who had broken down the dikes of the canal, and laid the adjacent country under water. This measure, of which the States of Holland had lately fet the example during the fiege of Leyden, showed how firmly determined the citizens were to make a vigorous

B O O K XIII. 1575.

The fiege of Ziriclee,

Meurfii Auriacus , p. 147.

MIII. methods of conducting fieges, by trenches, batteries, and affaults. Mondragone perceived, that
the reduction of Ziricsee must be a work of confiderable time, and that the only expedient which
he could employ, was to block it up on every
fide, so as to prevent the entrance of supplies.
These it could receive only by the way of a
small canal dug from Ziricsee, to the great one
above mentioned, which separates Schowen from

the ifle of Duveland.

In order to fecure the communication between these canals, the Zealanders had fortified the banks of the smaller, where it is joined to the greater; and while they retained possession of the batteries which they had planted there, they secured a free entrance to the ships which were fent from Hol. land and Walcheren with supplies. To deprive them of this resource, and lock up the mouth of the fmall canal, was the first and principal object of Mondragone's attention. For this-purpole he stationed his ships in those parts where the water was deepest; and formed in the most shallow parts, a stacado, a work of a prodigious labor, which employed his troops for feveral months, and was attended with confiderable bloodshed. By perseverance, however, he brought it at last to a conclusion; and then having drawn another stacado of the fame kind, from an island which lay in the entrance of the canal, he joined the two Racados together by strong iron chains, and thus rendered all access impracticable.

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During the progress of these operations, the protestants embraced every opportunity of introducing supplies into the city; and they were greatly favored by the feafon, which was fo much milder than usual, as to leave the river and canals navigable through the whole of winter. But in the beginning of February, the enemy's works were completed, and from that time, all attempts to relieve the befieged, by the way of the small. canal, proved ineffectual. Their friends were

therefore obliged to turn to another quarter.

In the beginning of the fiege feveral cuts had been made in the dike of the great canal, on the fide of Schowen, in order, as was mentioned above, to overflow the country. Through one of thefe cuts, near the village of Dreischer, the prince of Orange proposed to convey supplies to Ziricsee across the inundation; and he committed the execution of his defign to count Hohenloe, a German nobleman of the most unquestionable spirit and resolution; but a storm arising, and the Spaniards having encamped most of their forces, and planted batteries on the dike, close by the cut, they obliged Hohenloe to retire. The prince, not difcouraged by this check, prepared to make a fecond attempt with a more powerful armament. And in order to animate his troops, he refolved to conduct the enterprise himself.

He reached Dreischer, and approached the cut The prince at the time of high water. In the beginning of the attack he threw the enemy into confusion,

BOOK XIII. 1576.

of Orange attempts in vain to re-

BOOK XIII. 1576.

made confiderable flaughter among them, and carried off some pieces of cannon from their batteries. But the Spaniards, roused by the danger which threatened them, quickly recovered their stations, and made a bold and vigorous refistance, till the tide began to retire; when the prince perceiving it to be impracticable to advance, was obliged, in order to fave his fleet from destruction, to return into the great canal. Boiffot the admiral, whose ship was much larger than the rest, did not retreat in time; and his ship having struck against the bottom, he himself, and about three hundred of his crew, either perished in the waves, or were killed by the enemy. This was the last attempt for the relief of the belieged; who being at length overpowered with their miferies, agreed to furrender the town into the hands of Mondragone; and that general, defirous to put a period to fo tedious an enterprise, granted them such favorable terms, as they were willing to accept".

This fiege had lasted near nine months, and during all that time had occupied the greatest

part of the Spanish army.

Vitelli.

But before the furrender of Ziricfee, other events had happened, which rendered those that have been related of small importance to either party; and which, while they disappointed the hopes entertained by the Spaniards of completing the conquest of Zealand, in a great measure

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Meteren, p. 155. Bentivoglio, p. 170.

delivered the confederates from those disquieting apprehensions which the late success of the Spanish arms was calculated to excite. The first of these events was the death of Vitelli, who was, without controverly, the ablest and most experienced ge-

BOOK XIII. -1576.

neral at that time in the Netherlands.

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Vitelli's death was quickly followed by that of Death of Requesens. In carrying on the siege of Ziricsee, Requesens. much greater fums had been necessary than he was able to fupply. From Spain, he knew that, confidering the exhausted condition of the king's finances 10, occasioned by his war with the Turks, no money could be expected; and the States of fuch of the provinces as retained their allegiance, were either unwilling, or unable to comply with his demands. Thus, great arrears were due to his troops, and they had already begun to mutiny. and to exercise the most intolerable oppression on the people; to whom he had been obliged to grant the liberty of wearing arms for their defence, from a well grounded apprehension, that if he had not permitted them to do this, they would have done it without his authority ".

Requesens had too much fensibility, and too little strength of mind, either to endure patiently the mortifications, or to encounter resolutely the difficulties, to which he was exposed. His vexation and chagrin preyed incessantly on his health and

Vol. II.

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Meteren , p. 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> This liberty had been taken from them by the duke of Alva.

kill. he died in a few days; leaving behind him a much higher character for civil, than for military accomplishments, in which he was confessedly much inferior to his predecessor the duke of Alva.

Thuanus, tom. iii. p. 464. Strada, tom. ii. p. 35.

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Metaren, p. 156.

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THE REIGN OF

## PHILIP THE SECOND.

KING OF SPAIN.

## BOOK XIV.

AFTER the death of Requesens, who had been prevented from nominating his fuccessor by the violence of his disease, the council of state assumed the reins of government; and as the king helitated for fome time in his choice of a governor, he hands of the found it necessary to confirm their authority.

This revolution afforded great fatisfaction to the people of Holland and Zealand; who flattered themselves with hopes, that, now, when the administration was lodged in the hands of their fellow-citizens, the war would not be carried on with the same animosity and ardor as before. At first, however, the council entered heartily into the late governor's defigns, and profecuted, with vigor, the plan of operations which he had left unfinished. And they continued to do fo till their attention was called to objects of a still more interesting nature, than the reduction of the maritime provinces.

BOOK XIV. 1576. The govern-

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BOOK XIV. 1576. Mutiny of the Spanish troops.

The Spanish cavalry had, as already mentioned, begun to mutiny before the death of Requesens, During the siege of Ziricsee, the infantry remained obedient to their commanders, partly from being kept in perpetual employment, and partly from the hopes of enriching themselves by the plunder of that city; but being disappointed in these hopes by the articles of the capitulation, and large arrears being due, to the payment of which even the contributions of the people of Ziricfee were not applied', they flew to arms, deposed their officers, elected others, and a commander in chief from among themselves; and then, having fworn mutual fidelity over the facred hoft, they abandoned all their conquests which had cost them fo much labor and blood, and paffed over to Brabant; intending to take possession of some confiderable fortified place, from whence they might make excursions, and plunder the neighbouring towns and villages.

They feize on Alloft.

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The council of state sent count Mansfeldt to appeafe them; but no offers or promifes which the count was empowered to make, could divert them from their design. They hoped, by the rapidity of their march, to have entered Brussels by furprise; but both the inhabitants and garrison were prepared to oppose them. They failed likewife in an attempt on Mechlin. Then leaving

Meteren fays, that the Walloons laid hold of the money, and with great dexterity excluded the Spaniards from the town.

Brabant, they turned fuddenly towards. Allost in Flanders; and made themselves masters of that town, by climbing over the walls, in the middle of the night, when the citizens were off their guard. They could not have acquired possession of a place more fuitable to their defign; as it was fituated in the midst of a rich and fertile country. and lay at nearly an equal distance from Brusfels, Ghent, and Antwerp. They had no fooner displayed the standard of rebellion in Allost, than they were joined by most of the other Spanish troops in the Low Countries; after which they began to exercise every species of violence and outrage, both against the citizens and the inhabitants of the country round. hard: To fishion

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The prince of Orange remained not idle or unconcerned, in this critical conjuncture. He had too much fagacity not to discern, and too much zeal and dexterity not to avail himself of so favorable an opportunity of advancing his defigns. By his letters, and emissaries, he endeavoured to rouse the spirit of the people, and to persuade the council, " That now was the time when they might deliver themselves for ever from the tyranny of Spain. By the good providence of God, the government had fallen into their own hands. It ought to be their unalterable purpose, to hold fast the power which they possessed, and to employ it in delivering their fellow-citizens from that intolerable load of mifery under which they had fo long groaned. The measure of the calamities of the people, and of the iniquities of the

BOOK XIV. 1576. B O O K XIV. Spaniards, was now full. There was nothing worse to be dreaded than they had already suffered; and nothing to deter them from resolving either to expel their rapacious tyrants, or to perish in the glorious attempt.

They are declared rebels by the council.

These exhortations, enforced by accounts which were propagated of the enormities committed by the Spanish troops, found an easy admittance into the minds of persons of all ranks. The council of ftate were no less enflamed than the people; and resolved to publish an edict, declaring the Spaniards to be rebels against the king. Barlaimont, Mansfeldt, Viglius, even the Spanish officers of the highest rank, and Rhoda, president of the council of tumults, feemed at first inclined to concur with the other counfellors; but perceiving that their refentment was not confined to the mutineers, but extended likewife to all the friends of the Spanish government, they began to alleviate the outrages of the foldiers, and openly opposed the publication of the edict; alledging; that troops which had mutinied on account of not receiving their pay, could not justly be considered as rebels; and that the edict would ferve only to exasperate them still more against the people, while the council was not provided with force fufficient to restrain their excesses. But these reasons were held in great contempt by a majority of the council; who, having expelled the diffenting members, accused them of holding correspondence with the mutineers, and threw them into prison. Then having elected the duke d'Arschot for their

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president, in the room of Viglius, they published an edict in terms strongly calculated to increase the odium against the Spanish troops; calling on the people to concur with them in driving out that lawless and rapacious crew, who, under the pretext of procuring payment of their arrears, would, if they were not speedily prevented, bring utter ruin upon the Netherlands.

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Nothing could have been more confonant to Hoftilities the general spirit of the Flemings, than the fenti- Spaniards ments contained in this edick. It ferved as fuel to and Flethat flame which was already kindled, and which now burst out with redoubled violence. To give greater weight to the measures which had been already taken, and to those which they intended to purfue, the council called an affembly of the States; and all the provinces, Luxemburgh excepted, fent deputies to attend. This affembly had no sooner met than hostilities were begun. The citadels of Antwerp, Ghent, Valenciennes, and Utrecht were in the hands of the Spaniards. Romero commanded in Lieres and Maestricht was garrifoned by some companies of German infantry. To acquire possession of these important fortresses, and to prevent the Spanish troops from uniting themselves into one body, were the objects upon which the States bestowed their first and principal attention. They were fuccessful in gaining over to their side the regiments of Walloons in the Spanish service; and they raised so great a number of militia of the country, as, when joined had agreet I deliver to the States. The execution

BOOK XIV. 15:6

BOOK with the Walloons, formed a confiderable body of troops, at a bettle teles whence a must a telest XIV.

1576.

The Spaniards, on the other hand, prompted by Rhoda, and animated by the brave and active d'Avila, exerted themselves no less strenuously in counteracting their deligns. An officer of the name of Vargas, having drawn together eight hundred horse in the neighbourhood of Maestricht, had advanced as far as Vifenach, in his way to Alloft, in hopes of prevailing on the mutineers to act in concert with him. At Visenach he was met by two thousand foot and fix hundred horse, which the States had fent to oppose him. But the Spaniards were not fo much inferior in number, as they were fuperior in military discipline. Vargas supplied his want of infantry by making a company of Burgundians quit their horses. The Flemish troops, though they began the attack with great impetuolity, fell foon into diforder; and the Spaniards broke in upon their ranks, and put them to flight, with considerable slaughter.

> Vargas continued his route to Alloft; and was seconded, in his application to the mutineers, by d'Avila and Romero; but neither the importunity of their officers, nor a regard to the honor of their nation, or to their personal safety, could overcome their obstinate resolution to remain in Alloft, till they should receive payment of their arrears. From Allost, Vargas led his troops, with the utmost expedition, to Maestricht, which, he was informed, the Germans in garrison there had agreed to deliver to the States. The execution

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ere on of their defign had been retarded by some companies of Spaniards, a part of whom were in possession of one of the gates, and the rest stationed in the town of Vich. This town lies on the east fide of the river, and is connected with Maestricht by a bridge over the Maese. Vargas, having transported his troops, and joined his countrymen at Vich, had a sharp engagement with the townsmen upon the bridge; but as they were not supported by the Germans, he foon compelled them to retire. They paid dear for this attempt to affert their liberty. The Germans, instead of acting as their friends, united with the Spaniards, and both together plundered the town without mercy .

But the memory of the calamities which the The facking people of Maestricht experienced on this occasion, and plunder was effaced by those which soon afterwards befel by the Spathe citizens of Antwerp. The States had labored niards. in vain to persuade the Spanish garrison in the citadel to deliver it into their hands. They now resolved to compel them; and, with this view, they had brought into the city a numerous body of Walloons and other troops. They had much reason for that solicitude with which they desired to get possession of this important fortress; which, on the one fide, communicated with the town, by a spacious esplanade, and on the other, with the adjacent country. The States were not sufficiently aware of the danger to which, from these two circumstances united, the city of Antwerp was

BOOK 1576.

Meteren, p. 164. Bentivoglio, p. 178.

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BOOK XIV. 1576.

exposed. Champigny the governor had endeavoured to rouse their attention to this danger, and had earnestly exhorted them to block up the esplanade by batteries and trenches; and, at the fame time, to order all the troops that could be spared, to encamp without the town, so as to prevent the Spaniards at Allost and other places from entering the citadel. But they wholly neglected the latter part of this advice, and they were too late in beginning to put the former in execution. They believed that the garrison would not venture to fally out upon the town, in which there was fo great a number of troops to oppose them; and they flattered themselves with the hopes of being able to compel them to furrender, before they could receive assistance from their countrymen. For this purpose, two strong batteries were planted on the esplanade; while the townsmen were employed either in pushing forward the trenches, or in raising mounds for the security of the town.

The siege of the castle of Ghent was carried on at the same time, and the States had conceived the most fanguine expectation of success; when the noise of the artillery reached from both places to the mutineers in Alloft; and, awakening in them fome sparks of their native warlike ferocity, produced a more powerful effect upon their minds, than all the exhortations and entreaties of their commanders, to it a notified on the met all to charge

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He was brother to cardinal Granvelle, and was as averse from the Spanish interest as his brother was attached to it.

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Navarese, their leader, seized dexterously this opportunity which their present difpolition afforded him; and, calling them together, exhorted them to reflect upon the folly of fuffering the fortreffes belieged to fall into thehands of the Flemings. " That artillery, " faid he, " which is now thundering in our ears, is levelled against us, no less than against the garrisons of Ghent and Antwerp. When the Flemings shall have subdued the rest of our countrymen, can we doubt that they will next turn their arms against us, who are the principal objects of their resentment? Can you imagine that the States will then lend a more favorable ear, than at prefent, to your requests? Believe me, they will ere long extinguish the debt which they owe you, in your blood. Let us march instantly to the relief of the citadel of Antwerp. We shall soon oblige the enemy to raise the siege. We shall, in spite of the townsmen, and the raw troops which they have brought to their affiftance, make ourselves masters of the richest city in the world, and take ample revenge, for the unworthy treatment we have received. "

He would have proceeded; but was prevented by shouts of applause, and exclamations from every quarter, to arms! to arms! They were now as impatient to leave Allost, as they had formerly been reluctant. On the 3d day of November, and only a sew hours before sunset, they began their march; hoping to reach the citadel of Antwerp early next morning, unobserved by

B O O K XIV. NIV. passing the Scheld than they expected, they did not arrive till noon; notwithstanding which, being joined by four hundred horse, under Vargas and Romero, who had acted in concert with Navarese, they entered the citadel, without meeting the least opposition. The citizens were no sooner informed of their arrival, than they suspected their design, and were filled with the most dreadful apprehensions. Champigny the governor, whose advice had been so unfortunately disregarded, saw

the approaching form, and did every thing in his power to avert it.

But the impetuofity of the mutineers did not leave him time for completing the arrangements which he intended. These men, impelled at once by avarice and revenge, rejected with disdain the invitation given by d'Avila to repose and refresh themselves after their march. With rage and fury in their countenances, they demanded the fignal to advance; calling out, that they were determined, before night, either to perish in the conflict, or to fix their quarters in the city. They were in number between two and three thousand, and the garrison, together with the troops brought by Vargas and Romero, amounted nearly to the same number. Navarese led on the mutineers, and the remainder were commanded by Romero. Nothing could exceed the intrepidity with which these two determined bands, vying with each other, attacked the trenches. The citizens displayed at the first onset, great bravery

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BOOK

XIV.

1576.

and resolution; but, being unable long to withstand the impetuous attack of the Spaniards, and being galled at the same time by the artillery of the citadel, they at length gave way, and fled with precipitation along the two streets which lead from the parade into the centre of the city. Spaniards were feconded by their cavalry; which bore down all before them, and followed close upon the rear of the vanquished, till they reached the great square, in the centre of which, stands the Guildhall or Palace. There the fugitives, being joined by some fresh troops, made a halt, and rallied; but they were foon broken a fecond time, and would have been all cut to pieces, if they had not taken shelter in the palace, and in the houses of the square. From the windows they kept, for some time, a brisk fire upon the enemy, and did confiderable execution, but the Spaniards. who were accompanied by the retainers of their camp, fet fire to the houses, with hay, straw, and other combustible materials, not sparing even the palace itself; which was esteemed one of the richest and most magnificent in the world. It was quickly reduced to ashes; and of those who had taken refuge in it, some perished in the flames, and fome by the fword, in attempting to escape, while others frantic with despair flung themselves headlong from the windows \*.

The Spaniards then dispersed themselves over the city; overpowering all opposition with irresistible

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<sup>\*</sup> Thuanus.

B O O K X1V.

impetuosity. Had their number been sufficient either to murder, or to overtake the prodigious crowds that fled before them, the carnage of that memorable day would have been still more dreadful. Of the citizens near feven thousand perished; while the loss of the Spaniards amount. ed only to two hundred men. So great is the fu. periority in battle, of regular discipline, and prompt obedience to command. For though the citizens fought with extraordinary courage, like men whose all was at stake, they acted not in concert, and although they had been marshalled by Champigny, as well as the time would allow, yet, from want of practice, they were foon thrown into confusion; and, from the same cause, they were unable to recover their ranks, or return to the charge.

Justice would oblige us to bestow on the Spanish troops the praise due to the most heroic valor, if, besides the rapacity which impelled them, they had not disfigured the lustre of their victory by exercising a degree of barbarous cruelty, of which, at that period, the Spaniards alone, of all the nations in Europe, seem to have been capable. Antwerp, at the time of this catastrophe, was in the most flourishing condition. Companies of merchants from almost every commercial nation, resided in it, possessing storehouses and factories filled with the most precious commodities. Great numbers of the citizens too were the wealthiest in Europe. Their magnificent houses were adorned with the most costly furniture; and their shops and

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warehouses stored with prodigious quantities of gold and filver-stuffs, and all other kinds of valuable effects, collected from every corner of the globe. Upon these the Spaniards seized, without any discrimination of the owners, and without confidering whether the persons whom they pillaged, were friends or enemies. The plunder that lay open and unconcealed was immense; but was far from being sufficient to satiate the avarice of the Spaniards. They exercised the most unrelenting cruelty upon all whom they suspected to have concealed their treasures; and nothing was to be heard in the city, but either the shrieks and groans of the fufferers, or the lamentations of those whom they compelled to witness the torments of their husbands, wives, or children. Cotemporary historians have described some of the several species of torture which they inflicted; but the reader's modesty would be offended, and his humanity shocked by the recital '.

In this manner were these men, for three days and nights, employed in plundering and butchering by turns, a people who were subjects of the same prince as themselves, and from whom (whatever ground of complaint they might pretend against the council of State) they had never received the smallest injury, or provocation. Nor does it appear that their officers interposed to moderate their excesses, till the soldiers, exhausted with satigue, were about to give over of themselves.

XIV.

Thwanus and Meteren.

BOOK XIV. 1576.

The money in specie which was extorted, amounted at least to eight millions of guilders, befides a prodigious quantity of gold and filver, in plate, stuffs, and furniture, which the owners were not able to redeem. The loss which the people of Antwerp fustained by the burning of so many buildings, was not less than what they suffered by the rapacity of the foldiers. The most beautiful part of the city was burnt to the ground; and great numbers of shops and warehouses, containing the richest goods, were confumed to ashes .

The States ance from Orange.

Whilst the barbarity exercised against the inha. receive affift bitants of Antwerp, excited fentiments of comthe Prince of passion towards the unhappy sufferers, it greatly augmented that abhorrence which the Flemings already entertained towards the Spaniards, and made them more solicitous than ever to deliver themfelves from a yoke which was now become intolerable. But the great superiority which the Spanish troops discovered on every occasion over the raw undisciplined forces of the States; created much anxiety, with regard to the success of their endeavours. The council of state perceived the necessity of having recourse to foreign aid; and they willingly accepted an offer, which was made them at this juncture by the prince of Orange, of fome cannon, ammunition, and troops, with which they pushed forward the siege of the citadel of Ghent, and soon obliged the garrison to capitulate.

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Meteren, p. 164. Thuanus, tom. iii, p. 471. Bentivoglio , p. 178.

This seasonable affistance contributed not a little to advance the prince's views. Immediately after the death of Requesens, he had projected a scheme of uniting all the provinces, and had exerted himfelf with great activity and address, in carrying it into execution. The States entered readily into his ideas. Deputies were appointed, and invefted with proper powers, by the feveral pro- The confevinces; and in the congress, which was held at deracy of Ghent, a treaty of confederacy was concluded, under which all the provinces, except Luxemburgh, November

were comprehended.

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In this confederacy, fo well known in the history of the Netherlands by the name of the Pacification of Ghent, it was agreed between the Catholic provinces on the one hand, and those of Holland and Zealand, with the prince of Orange, on the other, that there should subsist between them, an inviolable alliance, peace, and friendship; that all past injuries should be buried in oblivion; that all prifoners, and in particular the count de Boffut. should be fet at liberty without ransom; that the contracting parties should, to the utmost of their power affift each other in expelling the Spaniards from the Netherlands; that as foon as the provinces should be delivered from these bloody oppressors. and tranquillity established, a general assembly should be held of the States of all the provinces, for redreffing grievances, reforming abuses, and restoring the constitution to its primeval state: that the prince of Orange should remain high admiral and governor of the maritime provinces; VOL. IL.

BOOK XIV. 1576.

BOOK XIV. 1576.

and that he, and all others, whose property had been confiscated, should be reinstated in their posfessions and dignities; that all the decrees of the duke of Alva, relative to the tumults and herefy, should be abolished; but that in the Catholic provinces, only the Roman Catholic religion should be exercifed; while in those of Holland and Zealand, all matters, whether civil or religious, should remain on their present footing, till a general affembly of all the States should be held'.

Arrival of Auftria.

The deputies who were now convened, whom Don John of the historians call likewife by the name of the States, entered immediately upon the execution of the articles of this confederacy, by transporting to the frontier of France such of the Spaniards as had been taken prisoners in the citadel of Ghent: and they had begun to make preparations to dislodge them from other places, when they were informed that Don John of Austria, whom Philip had made choice of for governor, had arrived in the province of Luxemburgh. In some respects, Don John was admirably qualified for this new station, to which his brother had appointed him. affable and infinuating manners were fitted to conciliate the affections of the people whom he was fend to govern; and his military accomplishments qualified him to purfue the war with vigor, against the revolted provinces. But in the critical fituation into which the late enormities of the Spaniards

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Meteren, p. 169. Bentivoglio, l. ix. fub fine. Thuanus, 1. lxii. fect. 13.

had brought the Netherlands, other talents besides these were requisite; such as prudence, patience, and felf-command, together with skill and dexterity in managing the passions, and the prejudices of men; qualifications which Don John possessed not

BOOK XIV. 1576.

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His conduct upon his first arrival was ill calculated His impruto allay those suspicions which the Flemings entertained of the king's defign in fending him to the Netherlands. Having stopt at Luxemburgh, he wrote letters to the council and the States, in which he informed them, that he would not come to Brussels, the usual residence of their governors, unless hostages were given him for their peaceable behaviour, a guard appointed for the fecurity of his person, and the same unlimited command of the fleet and army conferred upon him, which the preceding governors had enjoyed. He lamented the outrages which had been committed by the Spanish troops; and promised, that, if the States and people should maintain their obedience to the king, and their profession of the catholic faith, the injuries which they had fustained, should not pass unpunished. But he added, that if they failed in either of these respects, they should, in that event, find him no less prepared for war, than he was inclined to peace .

The States and council were ignorant, till they The States received these letters, of the light in which their apply for adlate conduct was confidered by the court of Spain. Prince of

Meteren, p. 174.

BOOK XIV.

They believed that, as the steps which they had taken were necessary for the preservation of the people, it was impossible they could be offensive to the king; and they were extremely surprised, thus to meet, not only with distrust, but even threats, and a defiance, where they were conscious of having merited approbation and applause. They trembled therefore at the thoughts of putting themfelves in the power of the new governor, and were greatly at a loss to determine what answer they should return to his demands. On this occasion, they had recourse to the Prince of Orange for advice. And William readily embraced the opportunity, which was thus prefented to him, of confirming his countrymen in those suspicions to which the governor's conduct had given rife.

His advice. Dated November. 20th.

" As it was but too manifest," he faid, "from the strain of Don John's letter, that he intended to tread in the footsteps of his predecessors, the States and council had much need to exert all their firmness, prudence, and circumspection. They ought feriously to consider of the important charge with which they were intrusted; and to remember, that, upon their present conduct it depended, whether they, and their wives, and children, and fellowcitizens, should for the future enjoy those rights which belonged to them as natives of the Low Countries, or should be again exposed to the lawless tyranny of the Spaniards. They ought to exercife with vigor the power which they poffeffed, and resolutely reject all terms of agreement with the governor, by which the fundamental laws of

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the State might be brought into danger, or their own authority abridged. Enter not, faid he, into any accommodation with him, till the Spaniards, and all other foreign troops be actually dismissed. Trust not to any foothing promifes which he may give you, of dismissing them at a more convenient seafon. Remember how the king himself, when he went to Spain, affured you, that the troops which he then left behind him, should, in three months afterwards, be withdrawn, and yet they were fuffered to remain for more than a year and a half; and would, notwithstanding your folicitations, have still remained, if the calamity which befel his army in Africa, had not made it necessary for him to remove them. Let no confideration persuade you to listen to Don John's request of being invested with the unlimited command of your forces. By granting this, you will furnish him with weapons against yourselves. Nothing can express his distrust more strongly, than his unprecedented requisitions of hostages, and a guard for the fecurity of his person. If you comply with these demands, you will enable him to annihilate your authority, and to trample under foot your most facred rights and laws. It is impossible to believe that one who discovers fo much folicitude to strip you of your power, can feriously intend your welfare. Is it not more reasonable that the governor should trust the States, than that the States should lay themselves at the mercy of the governor? Such demands were never made, even by your princes themselves; whose practice always was to come unarmed to your

B O O K XIV. 1576. 166

BOOK XIV.

affemblies, and to take an oath to maintain your privileges, before they received from you any promife of obedience. Confent not to put yourselves under the power of John of Austria, upon easier terms than have been ever infifted upon with your native princes. Require him, previously to his admission, to interpose his authority for the immediate departure of the Spanish troops; and solemnly to engage to govern the State according to its fundamental laws'. To these conditions, your late fatal experience will justify you, if you add, that you shall have the power of assembling yourselves twice, or even thrice a year, if you shall judge it to be expedient; that the citadels shall be rased to the ground; that the right of appointing the governors and magistrates shall be vested in you and that without your confent, no military force shall be levied, and no garrisons stationed in the towns or forts. At present, it little imports you to confider whether or not this conduct will give offence to the king, for it is mere delufion, if you flatter yourselves that you have not already offended him. Promifes, foothing speeches, and professions of affection on his part, will not be wanting; but you will discover the last degree of weakness, if, after what you have experienced for feveral years past, you are not fensible, that nothing now remains for you, but either miferably to bend

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under the yoke, from which you have so happily BOOK escaped, or to employ with vigor and fortitude the means with which Providence has furnished you; and which, I doubt not, may yet prove effectual for your fecurity, provided you maintain harmony and concord among yourfelves 10."

This letter, in some measure, produced the The States defired effect. It put to filence all those who apply for aid to foreign were for receiving Don John on his own terms; powers. and the States, more suspicious than ever of his defign, resolved to infift upon the dismission of the troops, and the confirmation of the pacification of Ghent, as conditions, without which they would never agree to acknowledge his authority. And that they might not be found unprepared, in cafe of his refusal, they gave orders for making new levies; drew together an army at Wavre, between Bruffels and Namur; and dispatched ambassadors to folicit affistance from foreign courts.

In Germany, where they were powerfully feconded in their applications by the prince of Orange, they engaged in their interest, John Cafimire, count palatine of the Rhine. In France they did not confine their application to the Calvinists, but likewise prevailed upon the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, to espouse their cause, by fetting before him the prospect of an establishment in the Low Countries, more fuitable to his rank than he could expect to obtain in his brother's

Meteren, p. 175, 176. Bentivoglio, lib. ix. ab initio. Thuanus, l. lxii. fect. 15.

Nook dominions. From the queen of England, their xiv. envoy met with the most gracious reception. It was matter of the highest satisfaction to this sagacious princes, to see her inveterate enemy thus embroiled with his Flemish subjects; but, as she was still desirous to avoid an open rupture with Philip, she chose to assist them with money rather than with troops, and gave them 40,000 pounds, with a promise of continuing her savor, on condition (which she added in order to save appearances) that they should adhere to the pacification of Ghent, and not throw off their allegiance to

Their negociation with Don John.

their legal fovereign. While the States were making these preparations to vindicate their rights by force of arms, they fincerely defired to attain their end, by negociation with the governor. For they had too long groaned under the calamities of war, not to wish most earnestly for peace, provided that bleffing could be fecured, without making a facrifice of their liberties. Don John, on the other hand, discovered an extreme reluctance to comply with the conditions which they required of him; but he endeavoured to dissemble his fentiments, and attempted, by fair speeches, to cajole and deceive them. Still, however, he continued to show his diffidence, by infifting upon having a numerous guard for his person; and by refusing his consent to the departure of the Spaniards, unless the States should at the same time dismiss the foreign troops in their fervice, and give hostages, to

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The States, whose jealousy was kept alive by the repeated warnings of the prince of Orange. eafily penetrated into Don John's defigns; and they resolved, if possible, to convince him, by one decifive step, that it was in vain for him to expect they would ever depart from the terms proposed. In their assembly at Brussels, on the 5th of January, 1577, they drew up a new deed of union, in which they engaged in the most folemn manner, to maintain inviolably for ever the pacification of Ghent; to spare neither their goods, their persons, nor their lives, in order to fulfil it; and to regard as perjured traitors, all those who, participating in the present union. should by word, deed, or counsel, counteract it. A copy of this deed, subscribed by the governor and deputies of all the towns and provinces, by the nobility, prelates, and other dignified ecclefiaftics; and by the members of tribunals, councils colleges, and chapters, together with a folemn ratification of it by the council, was fent by the States to Don John, as their final answer to his demands ".

This measure contributed not a little to promote the end proposed. It gave Don John a proof of firmpels, on the part of the States, which he little expected, and showed him the necessity of either agreeing to the conditions which they fo earnestly required, or of resolving instantly to have

Their agreement with

Meteren, p. 179.

XIV. 1577.

recourse to arms. Inflamed by ambition and the love of war, he would not have helitated a moment what part to act, had not his instructions from the king required that he should avoid coming to an open rupture with the Catholic provinces. confidered likewife, that the States had got the flart of him, and were already well prepared to repel force by force. Nor was he ignorant of the encouragement which they had received, to hope for fuccour from the neighbouring powers; or of the danger to which great numbers of the Spanish troops, furrounded by their enemies, were exposed, of being reduced by famine. Influenced by these considerations, and trusting, that ere long, after quieting their fuspicions, opportunities would offer of depriving the States by degrees of that power of which they were at present so tenacious, he entered into a negociation with their deputies at Marche en Famine, a city in Luxemburgh; and after many obstructions and difficulties, con-

March 12th cluded a treaty with them, which they fondly termed the perpetual edict.

In this treaty he engaged, that all the foreign troops in the service of Spain should leave the Netherlands, and never return thither without the confent of the States; that the Spaniards and Italians should depart within the space of forty days, and the Germans, immediately after receiving fatisfaction with regard to their arrears; and that all the cities and forts possessed by these troops should, as soon as they were relinquished, be delivered to the States, together with the stores

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of ammunition, arms, and provisions. He ratisfied the pacification of Ghent. He consented that all prisoners detained on account of the late disturbances, should immediately be set at liberty, except the count of Buren . And he promised that diligent inquiry should be made, concerning the outrages lately committed by the troops; that justice should be executed against the guilty, and a reasonable compensation made to the sufferers, either in the Netherlands, or in Spain, according as the king should be pleased to determine.

The States, on the other hand, engaged to preferve inviolable their allegiance to the king; to maintain the profession of the Roman Catholic faith throughout all the provinces; to receive Don John as governor general of the Netherlands, and immediately to furnish him with 600,000 florins, for the payment of the Italian and Spanish troops, in order to prevail on them the more easily

to depart for Spain or Italy.

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ed, ores As foon as this treaty was concluded, ambaffadors were dispatched by the Catholic States, who alone were concerned in it, to the prince of Orange, and the States of Holland and Zealand, to desire their concurrence. It might easily have been foreseen, that this application could not be attended with success. For although the maritime provinces had consented, in the pacification of Ghent, to submit the question of religion to the decision of a general assembly, to be held after the

BOOK XIV.

The States of Holland refuse to concur.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Son of the prince of Orange.

XIV. \

departure of the Spaniards; yet in that affembly they knew that they would have leifure to employ all their influence in behalf of their religion, and to offer fuch reasons against proscribing it, as they hoped would prove a fufficient counterpoise to the religious zeal of the popish States. Without this expectation it can hardly be supposed, that Protestants, whose fincerity in their profession was so unquestionable, would ever have agreed to leave to others the determination of a matter in which they were fo deeply interested: and therefore it is not furprifing, that they declined acceding to the treaty now presented to them, in which this important point had, without obtaining their confent, been so hastily decided. But lest they should alarm the bigotry of the Catholic provinces, they took no notice in their answer, of this, which was their principal objection. They began with faying, that they could not enough praise that generous zeal which the States had displayed, in delivering their country from the tyranny of the Spaniards; and they rejoiced to find that they still perfifted in their resolution of adhering to the pacification of Ghent. But after confidering attentively the treaty which had been transmitted to them, they were forry to observe, that it was extremely ill calculated to answer the laudable intentions of the States. For besides several other objections of great weight, there was no proper provision made, in this treaty, for the regular calling of affemblies: in a convention, held on purpole to restore and secure their rights, an open infraction

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of them was ratified, by their confenting to the uniust detention of the count of Buren; the States had failed in the respect and gratitude which they owed to the queen of England and the duke of Anjou; and certain articles of the treaty were derogatory to the honor of the Netherlands; particularly that article, by which, instead of infifting upon a restitution of those invaluable effects, of which the Spaniards had plundered the inhabitants, they had promifed money to those men, notwithstanding their having been solemnly declared traitors and rebels by the States themfelves, and by the council of state, when clothed with the authority of the king.

The catholics could not but be sensible of the Departure ftrength of these objections. Their impatience to of the Italian be delivered from the Spanish troops, and their troops. eager defire of peace, had betrayed them into that precipitation of which they had been guilty. They could not avail themselves now of the superior penetration of the prince of Orange. The treaty was already concluded, and nothing remained for them, but to watch the governor's motions with an attentive eye, till the troops were removed to fuch a distance, that they could not easily be recalled. Don John was at great pains to dispel their fuspicions. For that purpose, he employed all his influence to perfuade the Spaniards to depart; and he at length prevailed, though not till he had distributed among them the money which he had received from the States. This brave, but ferocious, and favage band then fet out upon their

march for Italy, like an army in triumph; loaden with the spoils of their fellow-subjects, and without compunction for the rapacity and violence

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XIV.

1577.

Their departure diffused universal joy throughadmission to out the Netherlands, and the people indulged the flattering hope, that the king, having been at last touched with their calamities, had resolved to treat them with greater lenity and moderation than they had experienced fince the beginning of his reign. Their fatisfaction was heightened by the popular character of the governor, who was in the prime of life; elegant and graceful in his person and deportment; lively, facetious and affable, and who gained exceedingly from the comparison which men naturally formed of his infinuating manners, with the referve and aufterity of the king. He was received in Bruffels with fuch marks of respect as had never been shown to any former governor; and persons of all ranks flattered themselves with the prospect of a just and mild administration.

His impolitie condua.

They did not long enjoy this foothing prospect Although Philip himself had ratified the perpetual edict, and Don John had, before his admission to the regency, fworn in the most solemn manner, to observe it, it soon appeared that nothing was farther from the intentions of either. The limitations which that edict imposed upon the fovereign's authority, were utterly repugnant to Philip's

Thuanus, lib. lxiv. fect. 6.

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temper, as well as to the plan which he had formed for the government of the Netherlands; nor would he ever have empowered his brother to make fo many concessions to the States, as the perpetual edict, or pacification of Ghent, contained, but in order more effectually to strip them afterwards of that very power which he now confented they should enjoy. But Don John was, from his natural impetuolity, incapable of executing this scheme; which required a much higher degree of circumfpection and experience, as well as patience and dissimulation, than he possessed. His court was perpetually filled with Spaniards, and other foreigners, who had rendered themselves abnoxious to the natives; nor were any of the Flemings admitted into his confidence, but such as had shown themselves devoted to the Spanish interest: while those who had discovered an attachment to the liberty of their country, were kept at a distance, and treated with indifference or contempt. This circumstance contributed not a little to revive that jealoufy of his defigns, which he had been fo folicitous to allay. But the States were still more alarmed, when he made them the following proposals: that they should not any longer withhold from him the authority which his predecessors had enjoyed, but allow him to act as captain-general, as well as governor of the provinces: that they should empower him, without waiting for the determination of the general affembly of the States, to execute the two articles of the late treaty, which related to the obedience due to the

BOOK XIV. BOOK

XIV. 1577.

king, and the re-establishment of the Catholic religion: and that, if the prince of Orange would not immediately agree to accede to the perpetual edict, the States should break off all correspondence with him, and reduce him and the maritime provinces to obedience, by force of arms. With these proposals the States refused to comply, but expressed their refusal in the softest terms; and without taking notice of his demand, to be allowed to act as captain-general, they represented to him that, by the pacification of Ghent, both he and they were bound to wait for the meeting of the general affembly of the States; to whose decision the prince of Orange, and the States of Holland and Zealand, had engaged to submit.

Don John perceiving that he was not likely to persuade them, grew more impatient than ever under his present restraints, and resolved now to employ either force or fraud, as opportunities His duplicity should offer. The States could not fully penetrate his defign, but they perceived how much he was diffatisfied with his fituation, and what difficulty they would find to obtain the fulfilment of his engagements in the perpetual edict. This ferved to render them more than ever folicitous for the departure of the German troops, which, it had been agreed, should remain in the Netherlands, till they received payment of their arrears. These arrears amounted to a very great fum, which the States were utterly unable to raise at the present juncture. But, having raised a part of it, they made an offer of that to the Germans, and defired they

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XIV.

1577.

they would accept of goods and fecurity for the rest. In order to make a further trial of Don John's fincerity, they entreated him to employ his influence, to procure their confent. Don John readily agreed to this request; and declared that, if the Germans should refuse to comply, he would, at the hazard of his life, compel them. Having fummoned their commanders to meet him at Mechlin, he went thither, as if on purpose to perfuade them, but in reality to inflame their minds against the States, and to exort them to remain in the Netherlands, in the service of the king. Having had the fuccess which he desired with some of the principal officers, and judging it necessary now to redouble his hypocrify with the States, he wrote to them, lamenting that a much greater fum was necessary to fatisfy the German troops. than could be procured in the Low countries; and offering to fend his fecretary Escovedo to reprefent their fituation to the king. This artifice was not altogether without effect. The States could not believe that Don John was capable of fo great deceit, as he was now practifing against them. They agreed to his proposal, and, as an expresfion of their gratitude, they fettled a pension of 2000 ducats on Escovedo, who set out immediately for Spain; but with a defign extremely different from that which was pretended.

Don John in the mean time carried on his in- He seizes on trigues with the German officers, and hoped foon, Namur. by their means, to get possession of the fortified towns in which they lay. But before any of the

VOL. II.

XIV. 1577.

plans which he had formed with this view were put in execution, he judged it necessary to withdraw from Bruffels, and, if poffible, to make himfelf mafter of some place of Arength near the frontier, where he might remain in fafety till he should find himself in a condition to take the field. Of all the frontier towns, Namur appeared the fittest for his purpose; being conveniently situated for the reception of the troops, to which he expected the king would foon give orders to return from Italy. It happened that Margaret de Valois, queen of Navarre, intended at this time to pass through Namur in her way to Spa. On pretence of paying his respect to Margaret, he left Brussels, and arrived in Namur, with a great number of the nobility and others, who were favorable to his defign. But as the governor of the castle was a perfon of strict fidelity, Don John was obliged, in order to accomplish his aim, to have recourse to the following stratagem. Feigning to set out in the morning for the chafe, he took his way by the castle; where having stopt, and inquiring for the governor, he pretended a curiofity to fee the fortifications of the place. The governor, flattered with this visit, and suspecting nothing hostile from men who feemed equipped only for hunting, readily admitted, not only Don John himself, but his attendants; fome of whom having arms concealed under their apparel, immediately feized upon the gate ".

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Bentivoglio, lib. x. p. 192. 195. Meteren, p. 185.

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John having thus secured possession of the cas- BOOK tle, the town was, by the affistance of count Barlaimont, governor of the province, foon subjected to his authority. He observed with triumph, that the day on which this event happened, was the first day of his regency. It might with greater propriety have been faid, that it was the first of those calamities which pursued him to the grave.

After such an open violation of his faith, there could be little room for any future negociation. with the States. Yet, in a letter which he wrote to them on this occasion, he regretted that the plots which had been laid to deprive him of his life or liberty, had obliged him to have recourse to so hostile an expedient: and he affirmed, that he was still ready to observe the conditions of the perpetual edict; but declared that he would not quit his present fituation, till they should make provision for the security of his person, against the machinations of his enemies.

The States and council were greatly astonished, The affonish ment of the when they received intelligence of this event. States, They had wished for nothing so much as to preferve the provinces from being plunged afresh into the calamities of war. They considered that some of the principal cities in Brabant were in the hands of the Germans. They knew not what part thefe troops might act, if hostilities with the governor should take place; and they could not imagine that he would have ventured on so manifest a breach of the perpetual edict, without the prospect of some powerful support. They immediately

1577.

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BOOK XIV. 1577.

dispatched ambassadors to remonstrate with him on the nature and confequences of his conduct, and to request him to return to Brussels. They promifed to make the most serious inquiry into the machinations of which he complained, defired that he would name the persons guilty, and affur. ed him, that nothing should be wanting on their part to provide, in the most fatisfactory manner. for the fecurity of his person.

Of the reality of these machinations he could produce no other evidence, but some anonymous letters, which, he faid, had been transmitted to him. But as no person was named in these letters. and the authors of them were utterly unknown, all men believed them to be a forgery of his own, or of his courtiers, defigned to ferve as a pretext

for his present treachery.

The answer which he made to the States showed clearly, that, in the steps which he had taken, he had been influenced by a motive very different from that which he pretended - That the States should put him in full possession of the authority, which the preceding governors had exercised; that they should give him the entire command of the army; break off all communication with the prince of Orange, and the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and compel them to accede to the perpetual edict. These were some of the conditions, to which if they did not agree, he acquainted them, that he was unalterably determined not to return. The States represented the inconsistency between the former of these demands, and the perpetual edict:

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and reminded him of the utter impossibility, under which they found themselves, of complying with the latter, without violating their faith, which they had pledged, in the pacification of Ghent, to the maritime provinces. He still persisted in his resolution; and the States were equally inflexible.

1577.

They were confirmed in their purpose, by some letters writ by Don John and Escovedo to the king, and Antonio Perez his fecretary, which were intercepted in Gascony by the king of Navarre, and fend by him to the prince of Orange, who transmitted them to the States. In these letters, the necessity of the speedy return of the Italian and Spanish troops was urged with the utmost earnestness and importunity. The diseases of the Netherlands, faid Don John, admit of no other cure but lopping off the parts affected: and, to the same purpose, Escovedo observed, that fire, and the shedding of blood, were the only means by which the disorders that prevailed, could be remedied. For no man here, faid he, whether among the nobility or people, performs the duty that he owes either to God or the king. Opinions the most abominable univerfally prevail; and every man lives as he lifts, without law or rule. To which he added, That if the king did not fend the neceffary troops and money foon, he was afraid that Don John, who could not endure his prefent fituation, would quit the Netherlands, and try his fortune elsewhere.

While these letters served to alienate the Flem. The States ings more than ever from Don John, they raised to get a number of towns into

BOOK XIV. 1577. their poffet

the greatest height their admiration of the penetration and fagacity of the prince of Orange, who had given them early warning of the governor's duplicity, and whose predictions were now so remarkably fulfilled. They entered with greater ardor than ever into his views, and in conformity with his advice, they refolved to lofe no more time in negociating, but without delay to put the provinces into a posture of defence, before the return of the Spanish forces. Whilst their levies. and other military preparations, were going on, they labored with great folicitude to perfuade the Germans to deliver up the towns in their possession. Their success was in some measure retarded by the governor's intrigues with the officers, but the States, having at this time greater facility than Don John, in employing either money or force, according as the one or the other was most likely to prove effectual, had greater influence with the foldiers; who not only refused to liften to their officers, but put some of them under arrest, and gave them up to the states, together with the towns and citadels. In this manner the States recovered Bergen-op-Zoom, Tolen, Breda, Boisle-duc, and feveral other places; and they had the good fortune likewife to defeat a body of Germans, in the governor's interest, who were upon their march to surprise the citadel of Antwerp. After which, prompted partly by the apprehensions which this attempt, though unfuccessful, had excited, and partly by the remembrance of the many calamities which the citadels, in other places as well as

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XIV.

1577-

Antwerp, had occasioned to the inhabitants, they refolved to demolish these fortresses; and gave orders for this purpose, which were executed by the

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Don John, in the mean time, endeavoured to make himself master of some places in the neighbourhood of Namur; and he succeeded in his attempts upon Marienburgh and Charlemont. But. being forfaken by the duke of Arfchot, and almost all the other nobility who had attended him to Namur; and perceiving that the States were much farther advanced than himself in their military preparations, he fent them word that he had folicited the king for liberty to leave the Netherlands; and would immediately retire to Luxemburgh, to wait the iffue of his application, provided the States would agree to defift from hostilities till the king's instructions should arrive. But the States, sufpecting from their former experience that he intended nothing by this propofal but to render them more remiss in their preparations, gave him for answer, that before they would listen to any terms of accommodation, he must deliver up the city and castle of Namur. To this Don John refused consent; and thus the negociation was broken off, and all hopes of terminating the difpute amicably were extinguished ".

The States, confidering war now as una- The States voidable, refolved to invite the prince of Orange invite the

Bentivoglio, p. 198.

Meteren, p. 187. Bentivoglio, tom. fi. p. 212.

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BOOK XIV, 1577, Orange to refide at Bruffels.

to refide at Bruffels; and accordingly five of their number were appointed to carry him an invitation, couched in terms to flattering and respectful, and fo expressive at the same time of their gratitude for his former fervices, that it was impossible he could hesitate to comply with their request. obtained the consent of the States of Holland and Zealand, he went first to Breda, and thence to Antwerp and Bruffels. His reception in the places through which he paffed, was fuch as might be expected from a people, by whom he was held in the highest respect and veneration. Ardent to behold him, after an absence of several years, during which he had undergone so many labors, and been exposed to so many dangers in their service, they poured out in multitudes, to the distance of feveral miles; to meet him. In his passage from Antwerp to Bruffels, one fide of the canal was lined by the inhabitants of the former of these places, and the other, by those of the letter; while the banks refounded with the joyful shouts of a grateful people, who faluted him with the glorious appellations of the Father of his Country, and the Guardian of its Liberty and Laws. Nor were these demonstrations of joy confined to the vulgar, who are always fincere, but often precipitate and inconstant in their applauses; persons of all ranks vied with each other in testifying their respect and gratitude; and immediately after his arrival, the States of Brabant and the States-general concurred in electing him governor of the province of

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Brabant "; a dignity which had been hitherto bestowed only on the viceroys, or governorsgeneral of the Netherlands.

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By his wisdom and moderation, as well as by The promishis vigilance and industry, William fulfilled the of the Nemost fanguine expectations of his countrymen, therlands. But, notwithstanding his address and prudence. and skill in managing the minds of men; qualifications which he possessed in the most eminent degree; he could not preserve that unanimity among the Flemings, which it was of fo much consequence for them, in the present juncture, to maintain. At no period had they enjoyed fo fair a prospect of securing their liberty on a firm and permanent foundation. Besides the advantage of having a person of so great experience and abilities to guide their counsels, the Spanish troops were entirely withdrawn; the king's finances were greatly exhausted with the wars in which he had been continually engaged; almost all the fortified places were in the hands of the States; and the people were animated univerfally with the most violent abhorrence of the Spanish government. But the States were prevented from improving the opportunity which this fortunate concurrence of

and animofity, which fprung up, partly from the jealousies of the nobility, and partly from the in-

Philip de Croy duke of Arschot, the marquis sources of

circumstances afforded them, by a spirit of division

temperate religious zeal and bigotry of the people.

BOOK XIV. 1577.

Vide Hist. Métallique, tom. i. p. 235.

BOOK
XIV.
1577.
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of Havrée his brother, the count de Lalain, and feveral others of the catholic nobility, had, fince the death of Requesens; distinguished themselves as strenuous affertors of the liberties of their country. They had promoted with all their influence the pacification of Ghent, and had concurred with their countrymen in the invitation given to the prince of Orange to refide at Bruffels. But when they reflected upon the extraordinary marks of attachment which William had received, and faw him vested with an authority and dignity in Brabant, which only the fovereign or his viceroys had hitherto enjoyed; above all, when they contemplated his great abilities and experience in the conduct of affairs; they forefaw that they must content themselves with acting a subordinate part in the government, and that the States would, in every branch of administration, be directed by the prince of Orange, who must therefore reap the glory of whatever should be achieved, and, without the name of fovereign, exercise a supreme and fovereign authority. Stung with envy, and desirous to conceal the motive of their conduct, they began to affect an extreme anxiety at the danger to which the catholic faith was exposed, by the States repoling such unreserved confidence in one who was an avowed friend of the new religion. On this pretence, which never received any color from the prince's conduct, they formed themselves into a confederacy, with a defign to counteract him. And in order to give their party confistency, weight, and influence, they refolved to invite

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patche princes ing th er than ched t the archduke Matthias, brother of the emperor, to take upon him the government of the provinces.

This resolution they not only formed, but executed, without the knowledge or authority of the States. They dispatched a messenger to Matthias an invitation with the greatest fecrecy, and entreated him to

leave Vienna without delay.

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Nothing could exceed the temerity of those who gave this invitation, but the imprudence of Matthias in accepting it. For befides, that he was called only by the least powerful of the two parties into which the Flemings were divided, he could not be ignorant how injurious and affronting his conduct must be thought by his kinsman the king of Spain. It is some alleviation of his folly, that he was only twenty-two years of age; and that, considering the numerous progeny which his father had left behind him, there was little probability of his obtaining any fettlement in Germany, fuitable to his rank. At the time of the death of Requesens, he had made an offer of his fervice to the States. and he accepted greedily of the present invitation. His enterprise being of such a nature that he durst not discover it to the emperor, he fet out from Vienna in the middle of the night, with a small number of attendants. No fooner was his brother apprized of his defign, than messengers were dispatched to bring him back, and letters fent to the princes whose States he must pass through, entreating them to stop him; but Matthias travelled faster than the messengers, and, in a few days, reach- His arrival. ched the town of Lierres in Brabant.

BOOK XIV.

1577. The Flemish nobles give to Matthias.

BOOK
XIV.
1577.
He is admitted governor by the
States.

The States, astonished at the news of his arrival, and highly incenfed against those who had invited him, complained loudly of the infult offered to their authority; and would have instantly formed the resolution of rejecting him, had they not been diffuaded from it by the prince of Orange. William forefaw the advantages which might arife from that rivalship, into which Matthias had entered with his kinfman Don John, and from the feeds of enmity which were thereby fown between the German and Spanish branches of the house of Austria. He reckoned it rather fortunate, that Don John had received fo unpardonable an offence from the catholic nobility: and he confidered how fatal to the general interest of the provinces all division must necessarily prove, in the present critical conjuncture of their affairs.

Influenced by these considerations, he exhorted the States to overlook the injurious treatment which they had received, and persuaded them to agree, not only to receive Matthias with all the respect due to his high rank, but even to elect him governor, on such conditions as they should judge proper to require. This conduct, the most prudent that could have been adopted in the present circumstances, surnished no fort of triumph to the duke d'Arschot, and the other catholic nobility. On the contrary, it mortified them exceedingly, to observe that Matthias owed his election not to them, but to the prince of Orange; whose authority, which they intended to have controlled, was

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now confiderably augmented, and more firmly BOOK established than before.

Soon after this, they received a still more fen-

fible mortification. The duke d'Arfchot having tion of the lately been appointed governor of Flanders, had nobility. fet out for the city of Ghent, to take possession of his government. Not long after his arrival, a deputation of the inhabitants having urged him with much importunity to reinstate them in their ancient privileges, of which they had been deprived, in the time of Charles V. he was heard to declare. that that feditious multitude, which made fo much noise about their privileges, should ere long be punished as they deserved, notwithstanding their being supported by the prince of Orange. This faying being repeated by some who heard it, and circulated all over the city, inflamed the minds of the people with rage and indignation. They ran to arms, furrounded the governor's house, and threw him, and his friends and attendants, into

prison. The prince of Orange, dreading the con-

fequence of so violent a procedure, and believing

the duke to be now sufficiently humbled, inter-

ceded with the Ghentese, and procured his liberty:

but no folicitations could induce them to release

his adherents. In this manner was the duke d'Ar-

schot's importance in the Netherlands almost anni-

hilated. Matthias perceiving this, faw it to be his

interest to connect himself with the party of

which the prince of Orange was the head; and

readily accepted the government, with a condi-

tion to which the States required his confent, that

1577.

BOOK the prince should be his lieutenant general in all the xiv. branches of administration.

1578.

Matthias made his joyful entry into Bruffels, in the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, when both he and the prince of Orange were admitted to their respective offices, after taking an oath to maintain the laws, and to regulate their conduct according to the instructions which should be given by the States.

Application of the States to Philip.

Don John fent an ambassador to protest in his name against these proceedings. But the States had some weeks before this time declared him an enemy to the Netherlands, and paid no regard to his protestation. As they were persuaded, however, that they had done nothing but what was authorized by the fundamental laws of the conftitution, they wrote an account of their proceedings to the king, declaring that they still held their allegiance to him inviolable; and praying, that he would confirm their election of his kinfman Matthias as the most likely means of restoring tranquillity to the provinces. They had very little reafon to expect that Philip would liften to this request. He looked upon their conduct in a light extremely different from that in which they themfelves regarded it; and confidered their prefumption in rejecting the governor whom he had appointed, and still more that of nominating another without his confent, as an act of the most audacious rebellion. The States were too well acquainted

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Meteren, p. 196. 202.

with his character, not to entertain some apprehensions that such might be his fentiments; and therefore, while they omitted nothing in their power to affuage his refentment, they endeavoured to fecure themselves against the effects of it, by interesting the neighbouring powers in their behalf, and by establishing unanimity between the religious parties into which the provinces were divided.

In order to accomplish this last and most important object, a new treaty of union was concluded, in which, besides confirming the pacification of Ghent, the catholics and protestants promifed mutually to support each other; and engaged, that they would join together in opposing all persecution, on account of religion, from whatever quarter it should come ".

The neighbouring powers were not unconcern. The empeed spectators of these transactions. The emperor " ror. faw with much anxiety, that those flames which had burnt fo long in the Netherlands, were now likely to burst out with greater violence than ever. But having been educated at the court of Madrid under Philip, with whom he wished to live on amicable terms, he had shown himself exceedingly displeased with the conduct of Matthias; had given Philip entire fatisfaction with regard to his own intentions; and had refolved to take no other part in the diffensions of the Netherlands, but that of employing his intercession and advice. He did

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<sup>&</sup>quot; Meteren, p. 197.

Rodolph II.

NIV. Palatine was making for the service of the States, either because he knew that his prohibition would not have been regarded, or because he desired to preserve a strict neutrality between the contending parties.

Henri III. of France.

Henry III. of France was too much occupied in his own dominions, to have leifure to enter deeply into the affairs of the Netherlands. For many ages, France had feen no king of whose reign the people entertained more fanguine expectations, Having in his early youth, been appointed commander in chief by his brother Charles, he had given fignal proof of uncommon abilities. French nation had flattered themselves with the hopes of feeing their kingdom restored by him to its ancient splendor; his fame was universally diffused; and the Polish nobility had, with general applause, conferred upon him their elective crown. But when, upon his brother's death, he left Poland, and succeeded to the crown of France, it is inconceivable how great a change he feemed to have undergone. Irrefolute, inconstant, indolent, and voluptuous, with a mixture of the most ridiculous superstition, he lost the confidence of the catholics as well as protestants, whom he favored and betrayed by turns. The unfteady and un-Ikilful hand, with which he held the reins of government, added daily new force to the virulence of faction, till every member of the state, and almost every individual in the kingdom was infected. The queen-mother employed all her art and

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VOL. II.

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and influence to support his authority, but could BOOK not restrain her younger son, the duke of Alençon, now duke of Anjou, from putting himself at the head, fometimes of one party, and fometimes of The States apply for aid another, in opposition to the king. To this prince, to the duke who was now the presumptive heir of the crown, the Flemings addressed themselves; after having in vain applied to the king himself for protection. Anjou listened with much pleasure to their application; and having conceived hopes of obtaining the fovereignty of the provinces, he made them the most flattering promises of affistance. Henry far from opposing the duke's designs, considered his leaving France as the most fortunate event that could happen; fince he would be thereby delivered from a great number of restless intriguing spirits. by whom the tranquillity of his kingdom had been But as he declined on this occasion to affift his brother in levying forces, partly from inability, and partly from the dread of embroiling himself with Philip, Anjou was not in a condition, till some time after the present period, to fulfil his engagements.

The Flemings mean-while received the most They receive seasonable assistance from the queen of England. affitance Don John had, fome months before, endeavoured beth. to preposses Elizabeth in his favor; by reprefenting, that the disturbances in the Netherlands were entirely owing to the prince of Orange, and his adherents, who had broken the pacification of Ghent, and by their intrigues prevailed upon the States, to violate the perpetual edict. Elizabeth

1478.

from Eliza-

BOOK XIV. 1578.

pretended to give credit to this reprefentation, and ordered her ambassador to reproach the States with their infidelity, and even to threaten them with her refentment, in case they should refuse to adhere to their engagements. Thus far this artful princess went, in order to persuade Philip that she feriously defired his subjects in the Netherlands to maintain their allegiance. But in reality she wished for nothing less. In a political light (that light in which the conduct of Elizabeth ought almost always to be confidered) nothing could be more defirable to her, than that the troubles of the Low Countries should continue; and, if either of the two contending parties should finally prevail, that victory should fall rather on the fide of the people, than of the king. But when the confidered the inequality of the dispute between him and the Flemings, the dreaded that the latter, if left to themselves, must soon be compelled, either to relinquish their pretensions, or to throw themselves for protection into the arms of France. She had therefore resolved to watch carefully over their conduct, and to afford them, from time to time, fuch affistance as their circumstances should require. She lent a favorable ear to the defence which was made by the prince of Orange and the States against Don John's accusation; and she admitted of their justification the more willingly, as in the reprefentation given her of Don John's conduct on this occasion, she found reason to believe that his intentions were no less hostile with regard to herfelf, than with respect to the States and

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the prince of Orange. For William had taken BOOK particular care to inform her of some intercepted letters of Don John's, from which it appeared. that he entertained a fecret correspondence with the queen of Scots; that he had formed a plan, to which the pope was privy, for fetting that princess at liberty; and that he was incited to attempt this, not only by the defire of diffreffing Elizabeth, but likewise by the wild ambition of marrying the Scottish queen, and attaining, through her, possession of the British crowns.

After this discovery, Elizabeth resolved no longer to keep any measures with Don John, but to exert herfelf with vigor in oppoling his re-admission into the government of the Netherlands. With this intention she gave the most gracious reception to the marquis d'Havrée, the ambassador of the States, and entered readily into a treaty. by which she engaged to furnish them with an immediate supply, both of money and troops; upon condition, that the commander of these troops should be admitted into the council of state; and that, during the continuance of the war, no step should be taken, nor any alliance formed, without her confent ".

Elizabeth had no fooner fubscribed this treaty. than being still defirous to avoid an open breach with Philip, she dispatched an ambassador " to Madrid, to represent to him, that in her late

Meteren, p. 197. Bentivoglio, p. 202. Camden, anno 1577, &c.

Thomas Wilkes, clerk of the council.

XIV. 1578.

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BOOK XIV.

transaction with the States, it was far from her intention to encourage them to withdraw their allegiance; that, on the contrary, she had employed the only means likely to prove effectual to prevent them from casting themselves in despair into the hands of some other power. She was deeply interefted, she acknowledged, in faving her neighbours from oppression; especially the Flemings, with whom the commercial interests of her subjects had long been, and still were so closely connected. This the hoped would plead her excuse for exhorting him to substitute in the room of his brother a governor, in whom the people could repose greater trust and confidence; and with whom she herself could maintain a more friendly intercourse, than she could ever hold with Don John, after having discovered his design to invade her dominions. She concluded with entreating him to redress the grievances of his Flemish subjects; offering to mediate between him and them, if her mediation could be of use; and declaring, that if they should refuse to fulfil their late engagements, or attempt to make any innovation contrary to the pacification of Ghent, the would affift him in reducing them to obedience by force of arms ".

Elizabeth could not mean any thing by this embassy, but the fulfilling of an empty ceremonial, which was received by Philip, and performed by her with equal infincerity. She did not wait for

<sup>23</sup> Carte, book xviii. Camden.

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a return to her embassy, but proceeded instantly to carry into execution her treaty with the States. Both the troops and money which she engaged to furnish, were immediately sent over; and the latter was remitted by the States to prince Casimire, to enable him to complete his levies.

BOOK XIV. 1578.

The States had collected a considerable body Imprudent of forces, which they stationed in the neighbour- States. hood of Namur; and if they had followed the counsel of the prince of Orange, who exhorted them to lay fiege to that important fortress, they might have made themselves masters of it, and prevented the return of the Spanish troops. But many among them being still unshaken in their allegiance to the king, as well as in their attachment to the popish faith; nothing but their remembrance of the cruelties of Alva, and the lateenormities of the Spanish troops, could have induced them to concur in the measures which the majority had adopted. These men fondly imagined that Philip would be moved with their calamities, and perfuaded to comply with their requests. Being for this reason unwilling to begin hostilities, they urged strongly the expediency of a defensive war: and thus the army was fuffered, for feveral months, to remain inactive, and time imprudently given for the arrival of the Italian and Spanish troops 24.

Although Philip did not entirely approve of The return his brother's conduct, and defired to have obtained nish troops.

Meteren, book viii, ab initio.

BOOK XIV. 198

his ends by negociation and artifice; yet, having failed in this way, he resolved, without hesitation, to employ force; and he had accordingly fent orders to Alexander Farnese, the prince of Parma. to lead back the troops from Italy, to the Netherlands, without delay. On their arrival at Namur, being joined by other troops, which Don John had levied in the neighbouring provinces, they composed an army of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse; while that of the States amounted only to ten thousand foot and one thousand five hundred horse; and was no less inferior to the enemy in discipline, than in number. The States now faw their folly in having neglected to make themselves masters of Namur, as an entrance had thereby been fecured for the Spaniards into the centre of the Netherlands.

Don John was at this time in a fituation much more fuitable to the talents which he possessed, than those negociations and treaties in which he had been hitherto engaged. He had longed with extreme impatience for the arrival of the forces, and ardently desired to be revenged upon the States for the injurious treatment which he imagined he had received. Having got information that their army, commanded by the Sieur de Goignies, had lest their camp in the neighbourhood of Namur, and were retiring towards Brussels, he resolved to attack them on their march. With this intention he sent his cavalry before, under the prince of Parma, and followed them himself, as quickly as possible, with the soot. Farnese executed the trust

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committed to him with great valor. At the head BOOK of his battalion he attacked the Flemish cavalry with uncommon fury, and though they gave him a spirited reception, he soon compelled them to retire. In the mean time Don John came forward with a chosen body of infantry, and afforded him fuch a powerful support, as enabled him to drive the enemy's horse before him, till he entered along with them into the ranks of their main army. The Flemings believing the whole Spanish forces to be at hand, and being utterly unprepared for fo fudden an attack, were foon thrown into confusion and dispersed. About three thousand were killed. and a great number, with the commander in chief, January 31. were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the conquerors was inconfiderable.

After this victory Don John reduced Gemblours, Louvain, Sichem, Nivelle, and feveral other places, both in Brabant and Hainault. He defired likewife to have laid fiege to Bruffels; but his council of war were of opinion, that his strength was not adequate to fo great an enterprise, and thought it more expedient to aim at easier conquests, till his army fhould be reinforced, and or obser had

The States in the mean time received an abun- Amfterdam dant compensation for their losses in the fouthern accedes to the provinces, by the acquifition of Amsterdam. To February 8th this wealthy city, which even then was the greatest in the northern provinces, the duke of Alva had, as mentioned above, given the most particular attention; having expelled the protestants, and put the government entirely into

1578. Battle of Gemblours.

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BOOK XIV.

the hands of rigid catholics. These men, supported by a numerous garrison, had baffled all the attempts which had been made by the States of Holland to reduce them. But being now hemmed in by their countrymen both by fea and land. and their trade almost ruined, they at last consented to accede to the pacification of Ghent, and agreed to disband the popish garrison, to recal the protestant exiles, and to allow them to hold their religious assemblies without the city. It was not long before they repented of these concessions. The protestants being inflamed with zeal for their religion; impatient under the restraints which in the late agreement had been laid upon them, fired with referement for former injuries, and fuspicious that the catholics were again meditating schemes for their expulsion, they flew to arms, and having suppressed the exercise of the popish faith, they drove all the priefts, and others whom they fulpected of malignant defigns, out of the city ".

Philip's anfwer to the States.

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In the midft of these transactions John de Noircharmes, Baron de Selles, arrived from Spain, with Philip's answer to the application which the States had made to him some months before. It was such as they had reason to expect, and contained an absolute denial of their requests, with regard to the removal of Don John; and the ratification of the election of Matthias.

The States profecute the war.

Convinced by this denial, of the folly of those thopes which they had entertained, that the

Meteren, p. 207. Way Bris Jun bas stables

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king would yield to their entreaties, and fenfible BOOK that they had fuffered confiderable lofs, from that want of dispatch and secrecy which is incident to the procedure of a numerous affembly; they enlarged the powers of Matthias and the prince of Orange, and invested them, and the council of state, with authority to conduct the operations' of the war, without having recourse on every occasion to the affembly of the States.

No time after this was unnecessarily lost. The troops which had been dispersed at Gemblours were collected, and of these, and the new levies, an army was composed, amounting to eight thoufand foot and two thousand horse, partly Flemings, and partly Scots and English. This army was stationed in the neighbourhood of Lierres, in the centre of Brabant, under the command of the count de Bossut. Don John's army, after he had put garrisons into the towns which he had taken. was still superior in number; and therefore he refolved to march towards Boffut, before the auxiliaries, which the States expected from France and Germany, should arrive. But he soon found that he had now to contend both with troops and a general much superior to those whom he had en- Battle of Ricountered at Gemblours. Boffut had, from a fense menant. of the inferiority of his forces, pitched his camp near the village of Rimenant, in a situation extremely advantageous for preventing the enemy from penetrating further into the provinces. On the one fide it was defended by the Demer, and on the other, by a wood; and was fortified both

XIV. 1978. The prince of Parma.

BOOK. before and behind with strong intrenchments. Notwithstanding this, Don John resolved to attack it, unless he could provoke the count to quit his lines, and give him battle. The prince of Parma, who from his early youth was no less wife than brave, remonstrated against this resolution, as being dangerous and desperate. But Don John, being confirmed in his purpose by the other officers, gave orders for his army to advance, after having fent before a felect body of troops, to attack an important post, without the camp, which was guarded by some English and Scotch forces, under colonel Norris. Among the affailants was Don Alphonso Martinez de Leyva, at the head of a company of two hundred men, whom he maintained at his own expense, and who were all either gentlemen, or foldiers who had diftinguished themselves in former wars. These men attacked the British troops with uncommon fury. After a short resistance, the latter began to retreat, but in good order, and with their faces turned towards the enemy. The Spaniards, to fecond whom Don John had fent several battalions of fresh troops, not suspecting any artifice, and believing the enemy to be intimidated, followed them with much precipitation, till they had past a narrow defile within reach of the artillery of the Flemish camp. Norris then returned to the charge, and the combat was renewed with greater fury than ever. He was reinforced with troops fent him from the camp, and both parties, being nearly equal, feemed determined to die or conquer. This

The Spaniards repulfed by the English,

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gallant Englishman animated his army by his own BOOK example, and had three horses killed under him. The Scots, impatient of the heat, fought in their shirts, and astonished the enemy with the singularity of their appearance. In the mean time, a body of troops, which had been placed in ambush, attacked the Spaniards in flank, and Boffut continued to fire upon them inceffantly with his artillery. They must all have perished, had not the prince of Parma obtained liberty from Don John to advance at the head of the cavalry to their relief. By his superior prudence, he would have prevented this inconsiderate enterprise; and now, by his prudence and bravery united, he faved the troops from those fatal consequences, to which through their own and the general's confidence, they had been exposed. About nine hundred men however fell on the field of battle, and a few more were taken prisoners ".

Don John, having thus failed in his attempt, and being fensible that he could not, with his prefent army, keep the field against the numerous forces that were ready to pour in upon him from France and Germany retreated, with the refolution of acting for the future on the defensive only, and pitched his camp under the fortifications of Namur.

The States concluded about this time their Treaty of the treaty with the duke of Anjou, which confifted of States with

Bentivoglio, book x. Strabo, L iii. Meteren, p. 225. Thuanus, lib. lxvi. fect. xii.

XIV.

the following articles: - That, under the title of Protector of the Netherlands, the duke should furnish, at his own expense, ten thousand foot and two thousand horse: that all the conquests which he should make on the Flandres side of the Maese, should belong to the States; and those on the other fide to himfelf: that, for the accommodation of his troops, Landrecy, and Quesnoy in Hainault, and Bapaume in Artois, should be put in his possession: that the States should not enter into any agreement with Don John, without the duke's confent : and that in case they should hereafter think proper to elect another fovereign, they should make choice of the duke; but that in the mean time the government should remain entire in the hands of the States.

Defigns of the States.

Agreeably to the first article of this treaty, Anjou had affembled a confiderable body of troops in the neighbourhood of Mons, to which place the States fent a folemn embaffy to entreat that he would quicken his march into the interior provinces. They intended, that their own army should unite with his, and that of Casimire, and that all the three armies should act in concert with one another, in expelling Don John, before he should receive a reinforcement from Spain or Italy. Nor was it without apparent reason that they entertained the hopes of accomplishing this design. Prince Casimire had passed the Rhine and the Maese, and advanced as far as the town of Diest in Brabant. His army, when joined with that of the States, amounted nearly to forty

Their numerous army.

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thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, and BOOK was greatly fuperior to any which Don John could muster to oppose it.

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ons rendered ineffectual.

But a variety of causes concurred in rendering Its operatialmost useless these mighty preparations; and a fpirit of division arose, by which the people in the more fertile provinces loft for ever that liberty, for which they had so strenuously contended, at the very time when it was most in their power to fecure it on a firm and permanent foundation. For although, according to the testimony of the catholic, as well as the protestant historians, nothing could exceed the prudence and moderation with which the prince of Orange conducted the affairs of government, it foon appeared, that no human wisdom was sufficient to preserve harmony and concord, where there were fo many grounds of jealoufy and difcontent. Of this difcontent and jealoufy, religious bigotry was the principal, but not the only cause. Ambition and interest joined their influence to that of religion, and not only divided the people themselves into factions. the most inveterate and hostile, but created suspicion and discord between them and the foreign powers which they had called to their affiftance.

The queen of England had heard, with great uneafiness, of the late treaty between the States and the duke of Anjou. She knew not, at this time, how far Henry was concerned in his brother's enterprise, nor what schemes of conquest these two princes might have formed. She confidered what great advantages their neighbourhood

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B O O K XIV.

afforded them for the execution of these schemes: and forefaw the prejudice which might accrue to the English nation, if the Netherlands were to fall under subjection to the crown of France. In order to prevent this, and counterbalance the power and influence of Anjou, she had made such ample remittances of money to prince Casimire, as had enabled him to augment-the number of his army, which confifted wholly of protestants, confiderably above what the States had either expected or defired. This alarmed the jealoufy of all the catholics in the Low Countries, who dreaded the approach of fo great an army of reformers, and fuspected that Casimire, in concert with Elizabeth, had conceived the defign of extirpating the popula faith. They did not conceal their apprehensions. Even the prince of Orange, and other moderate protestants, joined in remonstrating with Casimire on the necessity of his dismissing a part of his forces. But this remonstrance ferved only to alienate him from the prince of Orange and the council, and to render him less attentive to their instructions with regard to the conduct of the war. He was likewife highly offended with the preference which the States had given to the count of Bossut, by appointing him commander in chief of the army; and he made them feel his resentment, by the flowness of all his military operations, and his continual demands of supplies for the payment of his troops ".

<sup>27</sup> Reidanus, p. 25, 26.

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But the intemperate zeal and ambition of the BOOK protestants were productive of still more pernicious effects. Not fatisfied with the fecurity from perfecution which they had enjoyed fince the pacification of Ghent, they took courage from the bition of the great number of protestants in the army, and petitioned Matthias and the States, to be allowed to hold their religious affemblies openly in churches. and to be admitted, on the fame footing with the catholics, to the feveral offices of government. They ought certainly to have remained filent, as they had done hitherto, till the common enemy had been expelled, and the public tranquillity established. Yet their conduct admits of some apology; their party had greater influence now than it was likely to possess, if the catholics were delivered from their dread of the Spaniards, and they could not foresee those fatal consequences with which their application was afterwards attended.

But whatever judgment may be formed of their discretion, the States thought it necessary, left the army should have proved refractory, to comply with their requests. The pacification of Ghent required that religion should remain on the fame footing on which it stood at the time of that treaty, till the States of all the provinces should be allembled; yet the States, now partially allembled, confented, not only that the protestants should have access to all public offices, but likewise that they should have churches allowed to them in every place where a hundred families relided; upon this condition, that in Holland and Zealand

1578. Intemperate zeal and am208

B O O K XIV. 1578. the fame indulgence should be granted to the catholic inhabitants. To this decree they gave the name of the Peace of Religion; and each of the provinces was left at liberty to accept or reject it, as they should judge expedient.

The unhappy confequences.

In some cities it proved a falutary remedy for the disorders with which they were distracted; but, in many others, it added malignity to that poison, which raged in the minds of the more violent religionists, and was the fource of the most pernicious animofity and discord. It gave no contentment to the zealots of either party, but contributed to inflame them more than ever against each other, by adding fresh materials to that inveterate jealoufy and rancor which their bigotry inspired, but which had been laid afleep for some time past, by their apprehensions of the common danger. The catholics every where, but in a few cities of Flanders and Brabant, opposed the execution of this decree; and the reformers derived little advantage from it, except in those places where they overpowered their antagonists by fuperior numbers. In the provinces of Artois and Hainault, where the reformation had never made any progress, the people rejected the decree with the most determined obstinacy, and refused to allow the exercise of any other religion but the catholic within their territories; while the protestants in Ghent and other places, actuated by the fame intolerant and bigoted spirit, expelled the popish ecclesiastics, seized their effects, and spoiled the churches of their ornaments.

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Between the people of Ghent and the Walloons " a particular ground of enmity had sublisted, ever fince the former had cast the duke d'Arschot and his attendants into prison. For most of these were persons of rank in the Walloon provinces; and the Ghentele had not only rejected every folicitation in their behalf, but had even treated them with feverity during their confinement. The alloons were, for this reason, the more readily in cenfed by the accounts which they received of the late enormities committed against the catholics. which they juftly regarded as a violation, on the part of the protestants, of their late engagements. Forgetful therefore of the danger which threatened them, and listening only to the voice of indignation and refentment, they began to separate themselves from the other provinces, and refused to contribute their share of the money necessary for the payment of the troops. "We took " arms," faid they, " to vindicate our liberty ; what will it avail us to be delivered from " the Spanish yoke, if we must submit to a yoke " no less galling and intolerable, imposed upon us "by our countrymen; who; under the pretext " of zeal against the tyranny of the Spaniards; a show now that their only defign has been to "tyrannife over us themselves." The other provinces represented to them the mischievous consequences with which their conduct must be attended, and accompanied their representations "The natives of Artois, Hainault, and the other fouthern provinces. bong neither turnished with pioneers, completor

BOOK
XIV.
1679.
Discord between the
Walloons and
Flemings.

BOOK XIV. 1578.

with prayers and threats; but the Walloons remained inflexible, and foon afterwards they gave a striking proof of their hostile disposition, by refusing to deliver the towns of Landrecy, Quesnois, and Bapaume, to the duke of Anjou, in conformity to the treaty above recorded. Not fatisfied with this, they began to prepare openly for war, and employed the contributions, which had been raifed for paying the army of the States, in levying forces against the Flemings. Flemings quickly armed themselves in their defence, and feveral rencounters happened between the Walloons and them, that were equally pernicious to both.

The effects of that difcard.

Prince Casimire's troops and those of the States had been for some time past united, and Don John was not possessed of a force sufficient to oppose them; but the factious and refractory spirit of the Walloons and Flemings had diffused itself into almost every part of the Netherlands, except the provinces of Holland and Zealand. Many cities withheld their contributions, and the army was extremely ill provided with every thing necessary to render the operations of the campaign effectual. Bossut's principal object was to compel the enemy to a general engagement; and for this purpose, after taking two or three towns of little consequence, he led his troops within view of the camp in which Don John had intrenched himself, under the fortifications of Namur. With an army fo much superior in number to the enemy, the count might have forced the intrenchments; but being neither furnished with pioneers, cannon, or

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a fufficient quantity of ammunition, and finding Don John unalterably determined to keep within his camp, he was obliged to retire. His troops, in the mean time, were highly discontented, on account of their want of pay. His discipline was unavoidably relaxed. The country was oppressed and plundered. Casimire accepted of an invitation from the Ghentese, to affist them with a part of his forces against the Walloons. It became dangerous to keep the remainder of the army any longer in the neighbourhood of the Spanish camp, and it was soon afterwards found impracticable to support it. A part of the troops therefore was disbanded, and the rest were put into garrison in the fortisted towns.

B O O K XIV. 1578.

Noffelana 3

The duke of Anjou's army was not better provided with the means of Subfiftence than that of the States; and its operations were equally infignificant. Conscious of his inability to fulfil his engagement. Anjou grasped at those pretexts for eluding them, which the conduct of Calimire, and that of the Walloons, afforded him. He complained bitterly of the treatment which he received from the latter, who not only refused him admittance into the towns which the States had promifed for the accommodation of his troops, but showed themselves no less unwilling to furnish him with provisions, than if he had come to invade, and not to protect and defend them. He feems likewife to have suspected, and not without some reason. that Casimire had formed some private designs, inconfistent with that establishment which he him-

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that he had carried his troops to the affiftance of the people of Ghent, in order to pave the way for executing those designs. He therefore resuled to join his army with that of Bossut, unless Casimire should return to it; and when Matthias and the prince of Orange sailed in their endeavours to prevail on Casimire, (to whom the Ghentese had advanced a considerable sum of money, to induce him to remain with them) Anjou broke up his camp, and suffered a part of his army to go over to the Baron de Montigny, who was commander

Conclusion of the campaign. Such was the conclusion of this campaign, and such the issue of all the mighty preparations which the States had made for a vigorous profecution of the war. The people themselves, instead of uniting their efforts against the common enemy, wage war with one another, in violation of the most solumn engagements, into which they had entered only a sew months before; and the princes, who had undertaken to deliver the Elemings from the Spanish yoke, inlist themselves, in opposition to each other, under the banners of those inveterate factions, which threaten this unhappy people with destruction.

Casimire went over to England to justify his conduct to Elizabeth, and Anjou sent an ambassador to the States to make an apology for his, by representing, that his troops had joined those of Montigny without his consent; but that the

Meteren , p. 253711 Grotius , p. 60.

States had no reason to dread the consequences of BOOK that step, since the Ghentese would be thereby more easily restrained from their excesses. States, thinking it prudent to diffemble their refentment, admitted of his apology; and, that they might fill remain on friendly terms with him, they affured his ambaffadors, that they had a just fense of gratitude for the efforts which the duke had made in their behalf; that, as foon as possible, they would refund his expenses; and that, if they should ever find it necessary to elect another prince, in the place of the king of Spain, they would make him an offer of the fovereignty.

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During the course of the transactions that have been related, Don John had kept his troops Don John within their camp at Namur. They might now have left it without danger; but Don John had been seized, some weeks before, with a violent illness, which cut him off before he had reached the thirtieth year of his age. His death was by fome ascribed to poison; but, according to others, it was owing partly to difeafe, and partly to that chagrin which he conceived from the negligence with which his repeated applications for money and troops were treated by the Spanish ministers. Fond to excess of military glory, and conscious of talents which would probably have enfured success. he lamented bitterly the necessity which the weakness of his army imposed upon him, of remaining so long inactive, and solicited his brother for a reinforcement with the most earnest importunity. Nor was it only because Philip was averse to a

XIV. 1578.

of Auftria.

BOOK XIV.

vigorous profecution of the war, that he deferred complying with his request. After that renown, which Don John acquired in the battle of Lepanto, his conduct, as above related, contained fo clear a discovery of his views, as could not but alarm the fuspicious temper of the king, who thenceforth kept a watchful eye upon all his brother's most fecret motions; and when he fent him to the Netherlands, resolved never to intrust him with fuch a numerous army as might enable him to execute any ambitious design. Philip's suspicions were, during his brother's residence in the Low Countries, kept perpetually awake, by reports of his having formed a delign of marrying the queen of Scots. To these reports Philip gave credit, perhaps too easily. By his orders, Don John's fecretary Escovedo, who had fomented his master's ambition, was privately put to death. It was believed by many, that he issued the like orders with regard to his brother, and that this young heroic prince died of poison, given him by certain popish ecclesiastics, instigated by the court of Spain. But whatever ground there was for this persuasion, there is little room to doubt that, from jealousy of his brother, more than any other cause, Philip withheld the supplies necessary for carrying on the war. And to this circumstance, the troops of the States were indebted for their preservation from that ruin, to which their divifions had exposed them ".

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Meteren, p. 234. Grotius, &c.

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## THE SECOND.

KING OF SPAIN.

### BOOK

DON JOHN having on his death-bed appointed BOOK the prince of Parma to succeed him, his choice was foon afterwards approved, and ratified by the king.

This young prince had on many occasions, fince his arrival in the Netherlands, given proof of confummate prudence and the most intrepid valor. Temperate, vigilant, and indefatigable, he could descend to the most minute detail in all military operations, and was always the first to expose himself to toil and danger, and the last to retire. Pliant in his manners, and infinuating in his address; he could speak most of the European languages, and accommodate himself to the soldiers of all the different nations of which the army was composed. He possessed a vigor of bodily constitution equal to that of his mind, joined with

XV. 1578. The prince of Parma governor. His charaeNOOK an elevated martial air and aspect, which served, in time of battle, to fill the enemy with terror, and to inspire his own troops with courage and considence of success.

1579.

He had no fooner performed the last offices to his friend and kinfman, than he applied himfelf affiduously to fulfil the duties of that important station to which he was now advanced. While the army of the States remained in the field, he was obliged, through the smallness of his numbers. to follow the fame plan which his predecessor had purfued, and to keep his little army strongly fortified within their camp; but when, from the causes above explained, not only the army of the States, but likewise the Germans and French under Casimire and Anjou, were all either difbanded, or put into winter-quarters, Farnese, confidering this as the proper feafon for action, refolved to undertake the fiege of some important place, by the acquisition of which he might increase his resources for carrying on the war.

He hesitated for some time, whether he should enter first upon the siege of Maestricht, or that of Antwerp. The benefit which he would have derived from the possession of the latter of these places, was greater than any which could arise from that of the former, as Antwerp was the principal seat of wealth and commerce in the Netherlands, and was situated in the most advantageous manner for prosecuting the conquest of the maritime provinces; but having weighed attentively the difficulties to be surmounted in the siege of a

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place of fo great extent and frength as Antwerp. he wifely resolved to begin with the siege of Maestricht, in which he could engage with fewer forces, and a greater probability of fuccess '.

BOOK XV. 1579.

In order to conceal his defign from the States. he directed his march towards Antwerp, and had a sharp rencounter with a body of French and British forces, which were fent out to obstruct his approach. These he forced to retire under the fortifications of the city; immediately after which he turned back fuddenly, and invested Maestricht. before the States had time to furnish that town with the necessary supplies of stores and provisions.

The inhabitants were not numerous in propor- He lays fiege tion to the extent of the place 2; but it was to Maestricht. strongly fortified, and the want of numbers was abundantly supplied by the martial spirit of the people, who, being exposed by their fituation to frequent invalions from foreign enemies, were well accustomed to the use of arms. About fifteen hundred of them were enrolled; and by these, and a thousand regular troops, together with two thousand of the country people, who ferved as pioneers, Maestricht was defended for almost four months, against an army of 15,000 foot and 4000 horse, the best - disciplined and bravest troops in Europe, whose operations were directed by the greatest military genius of the age. Amongst the besieged there were two persons,

Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. i.

It is five Italian miles in circumference.

XV. 1579.

Schwarzenburgh de Herle, a Fleming, and Tappin. a Frenchman, who conducted the defence with a degree of wisdom and intrepidity that excited

universal admiration and applause.

Conduct of the fiege.

The prince of Parma, having arrived before the town in the beginning of March, fent Mondragone, with a part of the army, to the east fide of the river, to invest the town of Vich; whilst he himself remained on the other side, where he intended to make his principal attack. His first object was to prevent the States from introducing any supplies or reinforcements. With this view. he shut up the Maese with two bridges of boats. one above and the other below the town, and drew quite round his camp, on both fides of the river. strong lines of circumvallation. Immediately after taking this precaution, he began to make his approach to the walls by trenches. The garrifon had the courage to make feveral fallies, by which his operations were retarded. At length, however, when by perfeverance and the power of fuperior numbers, his trenches were fufficiently advanced, he planted two batteries, one against the gate of Tongres, and the other against the curtain, between the gate of Hoxter and that of the Cross. While the batteries were played of with great fuccess, the royalists pushed forward the trenches, and were ready to enter into the fosse, or ditch. The breach at the gate of Tongres, was the first made practicable, and Farnele resolved to assault it with a select body of troops, drawn from the feveral nations of which his army

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was composed. By thus mingling them together, BOOK he enflamed their ardor and emulation; but they met with equal ardor on the part of their opponents, and, after an obstinate and bloody conflict.

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The prince, believing that this first attempt Brave de had failed through the smallness of the breach, renewed the fire of his batteries with redoubled fury, and prepared for a second attack. In order to weaken the garrison by dividing it, he resolved to make an affault at each of the two breaches at the fame time. His troops advanced, in the face of the enemy's cannon, with the most undaunted The belieged stood undifmayed till intrepidity. they approached, and nothing could exceed the fury with which both parties began the combat. Their fire-arms foon ceased to be of use to them; for they came immediately to close fight, in which they could employ only their pikes and fwords. In one of the breaches De Herle, and in the other Tappin, gave the most splendid proofs of capacity and valor. The affailants, enraged at meeting with fuch obstinate resistance from an enemy fo much inferior in number, exerted their utmost vigor to overpower them. The action was furious and desperate. The ruins of the wall. and the ground on both fides, were strewed with the dead and dying. Stones hurled down from the bulwarks, and artificial fires, which the befieged launched among the affailants, increased the confusion. Those fires happened to lay hold of the barrels of gun-powder which stood near for

1579.

BOOK XV. 1579.

the use of the combatants. The explosion was terrible, and many on both fides perished by this fatal accident. The air refounded with cries, and shrieks, and groans. The earth was covered with mangled carcaffes; yet those who survived still maintained their ground with the same unconquerable obstinacy as before, and, from the horrid scene which lay around them, seemed only to derive fresh rage and fury. The prince of Parma gave orders at last, with much reluctance, for founding a retreat. The resolution and fortitude of the besieged, he perceived, were not to be overcome. Even if he could have mounted the breach, and kept possession of it, this would not have availed him, as other fortifications had been raifed within, which rendered the town almost as impregnable as before.

Upon reviewing his troops, the prince found that many of his best officers had fallen, and that the regiments of Spanish veterans were extremely diminished. He soon completed his numbers by making draughts from the garrifons of the towns in his possession. But when he reflected on the character of the besieged, he perceived the necesfity of laying afide all thoughts of taking the town. by storm, and resolved to content himself with the flower method of undermining the fortifications, employing for this purpose a prodigious number of pioneers, and taking effectual care in the mean time, to render it impossible for the besieged to

receive any reinforcement or supplies.

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The States were not neglectful of the prefervation of a place, where both the garrison and inhabitants had shown themselves so worthy of their attention. Having some time before received the celebrated La Noue into their fervice, they had vain to reappointed him governor of Maestricht, and given him the charge of conducting thither the reinforcements which they intended for the relief of the belieged. Nothing was omitted by la Noue to fulfil their expectations; but fo pernicious were the confequences of that spirit of discord, which fill raged as furioufly as ever, between the protestants and catholics, that, although the council of flate feconded by the prince of Orange, gave him all the affiltance in their power, he was never able to collect a force sufficient to execute his purpole. The fituation therefore of the belieged was become extremely deplorable. The garrifon which in the beginning of the fiege confifted of a thousand men, was now reduced to four hundred, and the citizens and country people had fuffered a proportionable diminution. Their provisions began to fail, and their store of gun-powder was nearly exhaulted. ove you was rolling borsed

Their distresses were much augmented towards the middle of June, by their loss of a ravelin, which had enabled them to give great annoyance to the enemy. To acquire possession of this ravelin had been the chief object of the prince of Parma's operations for feveral weeks; and, though he met with the most spirited resistance, he at length accomplified his defign, and could, with a large

Bendvoglio, part ii. Ila i. Mataren, lib. iz.

BOOK XV. 1579. The States attempt in

BOOK

XV. 1579.

cavalier which he constructed, overlook the walls. and scour the town with his guns, almost from the one end to the other. Still however the befreged, animated by the hopes of relief, refused to capitulate.

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But the fiege was brought to a conclusion much taken by fur- fooner than either of the two contending parties had reason to expect. On the 29th of June, it was suspected by some Spanish soldiers, that the wonted vigilance of the garrison was relaxed. In order to know the truth with certainty, these men crept filently to the top of the rampart, and found that the defendants were not only few in number. but overpowered with fatigue and heat, and buried in fleep. Of this they carried information to the general; who without delay ordered fuch of his troops as were nearest, to ascend the rampart with as little noise as possible. They were immediately followed by all the rest of the army. The garrison were thus suddenly overwhelmed, and almost all of them were put to the fword. The inhabitants fought desperately; but they sunk at last under the superior force of the affailants, who foared neither fex nor age; and continued the flaughter, till of eight thousand citizens, only three hundred remained. De Herle escaped by disguising himself in the habit of a menial servant; and Farnese issued strict orders to spare the life of the valiant Tappin . a pull of the long of

Orange labors to quell the tumults in Chent.

The prince of During the fiege of Maestricht, various political negociations were carried on by the opposite tomplified his defigit, and could, with a le

Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. i. Meteren, lib. ix.

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parties. The prince of Orange had at this time the chief direction of all the measures that were purfued by the States and council; Matthias having from a consciousness of his own want of experience, left the entire administration in his hands. The dissensions between the Walloons and Flemings had from the beginning given him deep concern, and he had omitted nothing in his power to heal them. Among the Walloons he had little influence, by reason of their abhorrence of his religion, and the jealoufy which they had conceived of his defigns. On the other hand, the Ghentese. who in that age, were noted for their turbulent and feditious spirit, had been wrought up by certain factious leaders to a degree of madness, and were long deaf to all the remonstrances which he could employ. St. Aldegonde, whom he fent to deal with them, exerted, but in vain, all the address and eloquence for which he was so highly celebrated. The interpolition of Matthias and the States was equally ineffectual. Nor did they pay any greater regard to the representations and threats of Elizabeth, who fent over an ambassador on purpose to persuade them. At length the prince of Orange went himself to treat with them. They had lately inveighed against him, with great feverity, for his moderation towards the catholics; and had fuffered some of their preachers to arraign him on this account, as infincere in his religious profession. But, being flattered with that regard

Mr. Davidson.

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## 224 HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

and confidence of which his present visit was ex-BOOK preffive, they refumed their wonted affection to XV. his person; and, after he had staid among them 1579. fome weeks, they complied with the feveral requests which they had hitherto rejected. They confented to make restitution of the goods of which they had plundered the popish ecclesiastics; permitted the re-establishment of the rites and ceremonies of the Romish church, forbad all abufive language, whether in the pulpit or in private affemblies, and engaged to yield a more prompt obedience for the future to the authority of the States by rudy tot horog brow.

> It foon however appeared, that nothing but William's personal influence had induced them to make these concessions. In a few months at terwards, being incited by the fame factious leaders to whom they had formerly liftened, they indulged themselves in the most unjustifiable exceffes; they plundered the churches and monalteries, expelled the ecclefiaftics from the town, and feized their effects, which they distributed among the Germans, whom they had called to their affiftance against the Walloons. These and other enormities occasioned the prince of Orange to visit the Ghentese a second time; when they made him an offer of the government of the province. He prudently declined accepting this offer; but having again employed all his influence to quash the present dissensions in the city, he

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<sup>\*</sup> Thuanus, lib. lxvi.

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succeeded so far as to be able to compel Imbife the chief magistrate, together with his factious adherents, to leave the city. He likewise put the magistracy into the hands of the more moderate reformers, fet at liberty such of the Walloon nobility as were still in prison, and procured for the catholic inhabitants, liberty of private worship, and fecurity from molestation .

William labored with no less earnestness to affuage the refentment of the Walloons, who. although they had not been the first aggressors. persisted in their hostile disposition, with the most unconquerable obstinacy. By the artifices of Matthew de Moulard, bishop of Arras, the count de la Lain, the marquis de Roubais, and others of the nobility, who beheld with deep malignity William's unrivalled credit and authority, the people had conceived the most incurable suspicions. that, far from being actuated by a difinterested attachment to the civil or religious liberty of the provinces, he intended only his own exaltation. and was preparing to establish it upon the ruins of the catholic faith. They lent a deaf ear therefore to every plan of accommodation that was proposed, either by the prince himself, or by Matthias and the States; who, they knew, were entirely directed by his councils?

The prince of Parma was too fagacious not to The prince discern the advantage which this disposition of the

BOOK XV. 1579.

Grotius, lib. iii. Reidanus, lib. ii. p. 29. VOL. II.

XV.

Walloons afforded him, for drawing them back to their allegiance. Soon after the death of Don John of Austria, he had, for this purpose, begun a negociation with their leaders; upon which he had bestowed particular attention, in the midst of those military occupations in which the fiege of Maestricht had engaged him. In order to frus. trate his endeavours, the prince of Orange and the States remonstrated to the Walloons on the infidelity which would be justly imputed to them. if they should enter into any separate terms of agreement; and represented to them the danger to which they would thereby expose themselves, as well as the other provinces, of being again enthralled by the Spaniards. The Walloons could not entirely divest themselves of the scruples. which these remonstrances were calculated to excite; nor were they free from those apprehensions of the Spanish tyranny, by which the other provinces were fo much disquieted. They had not forgot the scenes of treachery and violence, of which they had been fo often witnesses; and found it difficult to rely on the promises of those, whole infincerity they had so frequently experienced. On the other hand, their bigotry, joined with the inveterate jealoufy which the nobility entertained of the prince of Orange, formed an infurmountable obstacle against any agreement with the Flemings. That hatred with which they had been long actuated against the Spaniards, began to vield to a more implacable aversion against the protestants; and in this they were confirmed by

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the address of the bishop of Arras, and the other agents of the prince of Parma; whose proposals of accommodation they were now inclined to embrace, provided it could be done confistently with those solemn engagements, under which they had lately come to the other provinces. To thefe engagements, according to the fense in which they themselves understood them, they adhered with inflexible fidelity; and perfifted to the last in requiring that all foreign troops should be immediately dismissed; that the pacification of Ghent should be fully executed; and that Philip should recognise their right to form alliances either within or without the Netherlands, in case of any infraction on his part of the articles of this pacification.

Of their feveral demands, there was none which The Spanish the prince of Parma found it so difficult to digest. as that of fending away the foreign troops. Their out of the place, he knew, could not be supplied by the Netherlands. undisciplined forces of the country; and he dreaded that he should be obliged to abandon the plan which he had formed, for subduing the maritime provinces. The king, to whom he applied for precise instructions, was no less averse from this concession. But Philip, considering the recovery of the Walloons (the most warlike of all the inhabitants of the Netherlands) as a matter of the last importance; especially in the present juncture, when his exchequer was drained by the expense which he had incurred in the conquest of Portugal; and hoping, that by the indulgent measures which he had resolved to espouse in his treatment of the

BOOK XV. 1579.

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BOOK

XV.

May 17th.

Walloons, he should be able ere long to obtain their confent to whatever he should require of them, he fent orders to Farnese to hasten the conclusion of the treaty; and it was accordingly concluded in the following terms: That all foreign troops in the fervice of the king, should leave the Netherlands in fix weeks, and never return thither without the confent of the Walloon provinces: that an army of national troops should be levied. to the payment of which the king might apply the fubfidies to be granted by the States: that all perfons in public offices should take an oath to maintain the catholic religion: that all the privileges of the provinces should remain inviolate: and that the government should be preserved in the same form in which it had been left by the late emperor when he refigned his dominions .

This treaty was figned, on the part of the provinces, only by the deputies of French Flanders, Artois, and Hainault. The other provinces were not called, as Luxemburgh had never concurred in any of the late transactions; and the greatest part of Limburgh and Namur had already submitted to

the king's authority.

The union of Utrecht.

The prince of Orange, no stranger to the secret motives of the leading men among the Walloons, having foreseen that this agreement would certainly take place; had, in order to provide a counterposse against it, set on soot a new treaty of alliance among the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht,

Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. i.

Guelderland, Friesland, Brabant, and Flanders. This alliance was called the Union of Utrecht. from the place where it was brought to a conclusion. It may justly be considered as the first foundation of the republic of the United Provinces. It is still regarded as containing the fundamental laws of the constitution, and proves its author, by the wisdom, moderation, and extensive views which it discovers. It contains neither any avowal, nor any express renunciation of their allegiance to Philip; but the provinces tacitly assume to themselves the fovereign authority, and lodge it partly in the general affembly of the States, and partly in the States of the feveral provinces. The principal articles of this confederacy are those which follow: "That the feveral provinces contracting, unite themselves together in one political body, renouncing for ever the power of feparating from each other; but referving each to itself all the rights which it posfessed before."

" That the faid provinces shall assist each other to repel the attacks of any foreign power; and, in particular, to repel whatever violence may be offered to any of the contracting parties, in the name of the king of Spain, under the pretext of establishing the catholic religion, or on account of any transaction in the Netherlands, fince the year 1558; leaving it always to the generality of the union to determine in what proportion each province shall be obliged to furnish its supplies, either of money, or of troops."

"That in Holland and Zealand, no religion

BOOK XV. 1579.

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BOOK XV.

1579.

but that which is already established shall be openly professed; and that the other provinces shall be at liberty to allow either of the protestant religion, or the catholic, or both, as they themselves shall judge expedient: that restitution shall be made of the effects which belong to the convents and churches. in all the provinces except those of Holland and Zealand; and in these, that pensions shall be appointed to the popish ecclesiastics, to be paid them wherefoever they reside."

" That all frontier, and other towns, which the general and provincial States shall think proper to fortify, shall be fortified at the joint expense of the generality, and of the particular province in which they lie; but if the General States shall on any occasion think proper to build new forts, without the confent of the particular province in which they lie, the generality shall furnish the whole expense."

" That all fortified towns shall be obliged to receive fuch garrifons as the generality shall appoint, on condition that the troops shall, besides their oath of allegiance to the General States, take a particular oath to the province and town in

which they are stationed."

"That the General States shall not conclude any peace or truce, nor undertake any war, nor impose any taxes, without the consent of the majority of all the provinces and towns of the union; and that on the other hand, no town or province shall enter into any alliance with any foreign prince or power, without confent of the generality."

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"That in case any prince or state shall incline to accede to this alliance, he may be admitted, with the consent of all the members of the confederacy."

BOOK XV.

"That all the male inhabitants of the provinces, from the age of eighteen to that of fixty, shall in a month after the publication of the present treaty, inscribe their names in a register to be laid before the General States at their first assembly, to assist them in judging what forces each province is able to surnish."

"That in order to procure the money neceffary for the fupport of the forces, all the taxes shall be farmed out publicly, to those who shall make the highest offer; and lastly, that the said taxes shall be heightened or lowered according as the General/States shall judge the exigencies of the consederacy to require."

This confederacy was not immediately attended with those advantages which it was designed and calculated to produce. It behoved the religious parties to experience, for some time longer, the mischievous effects of their intemperate zeal and bigotry, before they could live at peace. In several places, the people were still agitated by the most violent animosity against one another. In Bois-leduc, the protestants and papists took arms, and coming to blows, had several hundreds of their number killed. Soon after this, the protestants, being seized with a sudden panic, abandoned the town to their enemies, who immediately submitted to the Spaniards.

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BOOK XV.

1579. Violence of the proteitants. In Antwerp, where the protestant party was the most powerful, the people insulted the popula ecclesiastics, when employed in one of the solemn processions of their religion; and in spite of Matthias and the prince of Orange, who interposed their authority to protect them, they obliged them to leave the city.

Count Egmont's attempt on Bruffels,

These violences, which the reformers, impelled by their religious zeal, exercifed in Antwerp and other places, ferved only more eafily to reconcile the catholics to the Spanish government; and contributed not a little to make feveral of the nobility forfake the party of the States. Among these was count Egmont, son of the great, unfortunate count Egmont. This young nobleman had hitherto distinguished himself by his zeal against the Spaniards; but refolving now to make his peace with them, he attempted, with a regiment of Walloons, to render himself master of Brussels, in order to deliver it to Farnese; and he succeeded so far in his defign, as to get possession of one of the gates, and introduce his troops into the city. The citizens ran instantly to arms; and, being joined by fome regular forces in the fervice of the States, they quickly recovered the gate by a fingular stratagem. Having driven violently towards it, some waggons loaded with hay and straw, they set fire to these combustible materials, and the wind blowing the flame and smoke towards count Egmont's soldiers, they were foon obliged to betake themselves to flight. The whole inhabitants had, in the mean time, got under arms, and Egmont, with the reft

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of his men, was shut up in the market place, hemmed in on every fide, and without any profpect of deliverance. There they remained during that day and the night following; neither of the two parties being inclined to begin hostilities. The citizens meanwhile indulged their refentment, by reproaching the count with his treachery, in forfaking those who had taken arms to revenge his father's death; calling out to him, that only eleven years before, on the same day of the year, and in the very place where he then stood, his father had died a martyr for that cause, which he now wanted fo basely to betray. This bitter remembrance drew tears from the young man's eyes. The people were moved with that compassion for the son, which they owed to the memory of the father, and confented to fuffer him and his troops to leave the

XV.

1579.

During the course of these transactions, conferences for reconciling the Netherlands to Philip were held in the city of Cologn, at the request and under the mediation of the emperor, the pope, and the electors of Treves and Cologn. The pope sent thither Castagna, archbishop of Rossano, who afterwards attained the papal dignity, and assumed the name of Urban VII. The chief of the emperor's embassy was count Schwartzenburgh. Philip named the duke de Terra Nuova for his ambassador, and the duke d'Arschot was at the head of the deputies from the States. From this nomination of persons of so great eminence and distinction, superficial

Grotius, p. 64. Meteren, book ix. p. 250.

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BOOK XV.

observers were apt to imagine, that the negociation committed to them could not fail to be brought to the defired conclusion. But this was not the judgment of persons of greater penetration. They confidered, not only that the prince of Orange, and the other popular leaders, by whom the States were governed, had already gone too far to expect forgiveness from the unrelenting temper of the king; but that the opinions of the reformers were more widely diffused, and their zeal, if posfible, more ardent than ever. And as there was no reason to believe that they would ever be perfuaded to abandon their religion, fo there was little ground to hope that Philip's bigotry would fuffer him to agree to any terms of peace, whilft they adhered to it. It was in reality this cause chiefly, by which the present negociation, as well as all preceding ones, was frustrated. Philip acted on this occasion with his usual duplicity, and gave private instructions to his ambassador, of a very different import from those which had been communicated to the emperor ". At first, he feemed willing to ratify the pacification of Ghent; and by one of the articles of that treaty, religion was to remain on its present footing, till a general affembly of the States should alter it. But in the course of the conferences it appeared, that the re-establishment of popery was a condition, without which he would agree to no accommodation. Neither would he confent to the convoking of the affembly of the States, nor to the ratifying of

Strada, lib. v.

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of of the election of Matthias; and he still infisted peremptorily, that all cities, forts, and military stores, should be immediately delivered into the hands of the prince of Parma. In a word, the terms offered on this occasion were, in every material article, the same with those which had been formerly rejected by the provinces of Holland and Zealand, when they stood alone, and unsupported by the other provinces; and therefore it is difficult to suppose that Philip could, from the beginning, have intended any thing by the prefent negociation, but to gratify the pope and emperor, at whose defire it was begun.

Before the diffolution of this congress, however, Philip athe humbled himself so far as to make private gain over the offers to the prince of Orange. These were the prince of payment of his debts, the restitution of his estates, Orange. a compensation for the losses which he had sustained . during the war, and the liberty of his fon the count of Buren, upon whom, if the prince himfelf should incline to retire into Germany, the king promifed to bestow the government of Holland and Utrecht. These offers were made in Philip's name by count Schwartzenburgh, who pledged his faith for the strict performance of them. William could not but be flattered with the testimony which was thus given, by an enemy fo great and powerful, of the dread that was entertained of his abilities. But being superior to the allurements of interest, he preferred the glory of faving from flavery a people who confided in his integrity, to all the advantages which he or his family could

BOOK XV. 1579.

BOOK XV. have derived from the favor or forgiveness of the king. "He would listen to no proposal," he faid, "that related to himself only. He was conscious, that in all his conduct, he had been animated by a disinterested affection towards the public good; and no consideration would induce him to enter into any agreement, from which the States and people were excluded: but if their just claims were fatisfied, he would not reject any terms for himself, which his conscience and honor would suffer him to accept."

Dissolution of the con-

Soon after this, the congress was dissolved; and no other effect was produced by it, except that the duke d'Arschot, and some other deputies of the States, embraced the opportunity, with which it surnished them, of reconciling themselves to the

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The negociation for peace did not entirely interrupt the operations of the war. By the affiltance of the catholic inhabitants, the prince of Parma acquired possession of Mechlin; and some time afterwards of Villebrock. These losses were compensated to the States, by some acquisitions which their forces made under the count of Renneberg; who, besides reducing the province of Friesland, made himself master of Deventer and Groningen. In the southern provinces, the Flemings and Walloons were engaged in perpetual hostilities against one another, but no exploit was performed by either party, sufficiently interesting and important to deserve to be recorded.

Reidanus, p. 29. Grotius, p. 66.

# HISTORY

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OF THE REIGN OF

# PHILIP THE SECOND,

KING OF SPAIN.

## BOOK XVI.

DURING the course of the preceding transactions in the Netherlands, Philip was affiduously employed in preparing to affert his claim to the kingdom of Portugal, an object fitted to inflame a more moderate ambition than that of Philip, and worthy of all the attention and expense which he bestowed in order to adquire it. Under a fuccession of kings, who placed their glory in promoting commerce among their fubjects, and in making discoveries in the remotest regions of the globe, the Portuguese had attained a degree of consideration among the European nations, from which the narrow limits of the kingdom, and the neighbourhood of the Spanish monarchy, seemed for ever to exclude them. Besides establishing settlements in Africa, and the adjacent islands, they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, which no

XVI.
1579.
State of

BOOK XVI. European mariners had ever attempted, and had penetrated boldly into almost every corner of the great eastern ocean, discovering lands till then unknown, and founding cities, with a view to the advancement of their trade. And not satisfied with their acquisitions in the east, they had turned their arms towards America, and planted in Brasil, that valuable colony, of which they still retain possession.

Don Sebal-

John the third, the last of those great kings under whose government the Portuguese performed fuch mighty achievements, died feveral years before the present period leaving his throne to Sebastian, his grandson, who was then only three years old. This young prince gave early indications of many splendid accomplishments, which excited in the minds of the Portuguese the most fanguine hopes of a prosperous and happy reign; but unfortunately for himself, as well as for his people, he was animated with the most chimerical ambition, which led him not to imitate the example of his illustrious ancestors, by studying to promote the true happiness of his subjects, but prompted him to extend his dominions, in order to propagate the Romish faith.

His romantic

This passion was cherished in him by Don Alexis de Menezes, his governor, and Lewis de Camarra, a jesuit, his tutor or instructor; the former of whom was perpetually celebrating the praises of his predecessors, on account of their victories over the Moors in Africa and the Indies; while the latter impressed his young mind with a

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persuasion, that it was the first duty of a Christian king, and the most acceptable fervice which he could perform to the Deity, to extend the knowledge of the true religion. By these means, his ambition was inflamed to a degree of madness; and, in order to accomplish that design which appeared fo meritorious and honorable, he once refolved to fail with a fleet and army to India; nor could his courtiers perfuade him to relinquish that romantic project, till they proposed that, in place of it, he should undertake an expedition against the Mahometans in Africa. From this enterprise likewise his wifest counsellors labored with much folicitude to divert him; but their exhortations proved ineffectual. Sebastian adhered to his purpole with inflexible obstinacy, and exerted himfelf with great activity, in making preparations for carrying it into execution.

In the midst of these preparations an opportunity presented itself, which he considered as a declaration of Heaven in savor of his design. On the death of Abdalla, king of Morocco, his son, Muley Mahomet, had seized upon the crown, in contradiction to an established law of succession, that the kingdom shall devolve to the brother of the deceased king. A civil war ensued, and Mahomet, after having lost several pitched battles, was compelled to leave his uncle, Muley-Moluc, a prince of great abilities and virtues, in possession of the throne. After attempting in vain to engage Philip to espouse his cause, Mahomet applied to Sebastian, and offered, if he would reinstate

BOOK XVI.

State of Morocco

BOOK XVI.

Sebaftian re-

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him in his dominions, to put certain towns into his hands, and to become tributary to the crown of Portugal.

Sebastian listened to these offers with the utmost pleasure, and readily engaged to pass over himself

to Africa with a fleet and army.

To enable him to fulfil this engagement, he folicited affiftance in troops from his uncle the king of Spain, from fome Italian powers, and (which shows how anxious he was to insure such

cess) from the prince of Orange.

In answer to the application which he made to Philip, that monarch proposed an interview with him, in the town of Guadaloupe in Castile. Sebastian agreed to this proposal; and the Spanish historians relate, that, in the interview which was held foon afterwards, Philip endeavoured to diffuade him from his intended enterprise; but that, having found him inflexible, he promifed, before they parted, to affift him with fifty gallies and five thousand men. They add, that not long after, Philip, dreading that the great number of Turks in the fervice of Muley - Moluc, might reduce Morocco under the dominion of the Sultan, made an offer of his friendship to that prince, who, being likewise under apprehensions of danger from the Turks, gladly accepted of it, and entered into the proposed alliance. The same historians inform us, that about this time Philip obtained, through the intercession of the Venetians, a truce of three years from the Sultan; and that he was prompted to humble himself so far, as thus to treat

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with the inveterate enemies of Christianity, (which BOOK he had never vouchfafed to do before) by the anxiety which he entertained with regard to the transactions in the Netherlands 1.

XVI. 15794

The prince of Orange was not less anxious concerning the iffue of these transactions, yet his conduct was extremely different from that of Philip; whether it proceeded from his native magnanimity, joined with a defire of giving proof, in the fight of all Europe, of the strength of the confederated provinces, or from the hopes of fecuring Sebaftian's friendship to the confederacy in some future period; by whichfoever of these motives William was influenced on this occasion, he gave the kindelt reception to Da Costa, the Portuguese ambassador. and afterwards fent three thousand Germans to the affistance of Sebastian 1.

These troops, with ten thousand Portuguese, His army. and some Italians and Spaniards that were fent him by Philip, notwithstanding his late treaty with Muley-Moluc, made up an army of fifteen thoufand men. With this army, and a great number of pioneers, Sebastian set sail from Portugal, in the beginning of fummer 1578, and landed them all fafe at Arzile and Tangiers, where he was He arrives in joined by Mahomet, the exiled king, with a body Moroco. of Moorish troops.

Muley-Moluc, having received early intel- Muleyligence of his defign, had endeavoured to divert

Thuanus. Ferreras, vol. x. p. 306. 312.

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XVI. 1579.

him from it, by offering him certain territories adjacent to those sea-coast towns in Africa which belonged to the crown of Portugal. This heroic prince had been the more folicitous to prevent Sebastian's invasion, because he labored under an inveterate disease, which he believed would foon prove mortal, and he was defirous to leave his dominions in peace to his brother, whom he considered as his rightful heir. But when he found Sebastian deaf to his proposal, he had exerted all his native vigor in preparing for his defence, and had drawn together an army confisting of more than fixty thousand horse and foot.

With this army he advanced towards the enemy, and when he had arrived within a few miles of their camp, as he doubted the fidelity of a part of his troops who had formerly been attached to the interest of his nephew, he published a proclamation, giving liberty to all, who should incline, to pass over to the Portuguese. But few of them embraced this opportunity which was offered them. His magnanimity, and other virtues, had overcome their attachment to Mahomet, and determined them faithfully to support their

present sovereign.

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Imprudence Sebastian was earnestly entreated by his most experienced officers, and by Mahomet, who was greatly discouraged at seeing so small a desertion from his uncle's army, to keep within his intrenchments, near the fea-coast, and not to expose his troops to the risk of a battle; but that obstinate, imprudent prince rejected with disdain this who favo fron into

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wholesome counsel, because he thought that it favored of timidity, and not only led out his army from the camp which he had fortified, but marched into the centre of the country to meet the enemy.

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Moluc's distemper, in the mean time, had made the most rapid progress; yet the strength of his mind was unabated. If he had not dreaded the quick approach of death, he would have been fatisfied with cutting off Sebastian's communication with his ships, and as the Portuguese were badly furnished with provisions, have brought the war to a conclusion without fighting; but he dreaded the effect which his death might produce upon his troops, and therefore refolved to bring on, as foon as possible, a general engagement. Sebastian's rashness rendered it easy for him to execute this resolution. Without regard to the great superiority of Moluc's forces, that infatuated prince ventured to advance into an open country, where the whole Moorish army, horse as well as foot, could be employed. Moluc improved, with great dexterity, the advantage which was thus afforded him. Having drawn up his army in the form of a half-moon, he went in his litter through all the ranks, exhorting his troops to remember, that their religion and liberty were at stake; and affuring them, that whatever pretext Sebastian had offered to justify his present unprovoked invasion, his real design was, to reduce the Moors to flavery, and to extirpate their religion. Then, after he had given all the instructions which he thought necessary to ensure success,

BOOK XVI. 1579.

finding his strength almost quite spent, he committed the command of the army to his brother, and retired to a little distance from the field.

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Rattle of Alcazar.

The battle was begun with a furious discharge of the artillery; but the two armies came foon to close fight, and the Portuguese infantry repulsed the Moors in different places with great slaughter. In the mean time the Moorish cavalry, amounting to thirty thousand, having wheeled round from both wings, had inclosed the enemy on every quarter; immediately after which, they attacked them on the flanks, and in the rear, while they were pursuing the advantage which they had gained over the Moorish infantry. By the Portuguese horse, a body of the Moors were repulsed, and driven towards the place to which Moluc had retired. Fired with indignation at the fight, he threw himself out of his litter, and having got on horseback, by the affistance of his attendants, he rallied his flying troops, and was about to lead them back to the field of battle. But by this exertion the fmall remains of his strength were entirely exhausted. His officers feeing him unable to support himself on his horse; carried him to his litter, where he fainted, and only recovered to defire that those about him would keep his death fecret, till the battle should be decided; immediately after which, putting his finger on his mouth, as a further injunction of fecrecy, he expired.

Death of Muley-Moluc.

A more striking display of strength of mind His charafter. occurs not in the annals of history. Moluc was

1579.

besides endued with every amiable and respectable BOOR accomplishment, being no less conspicuous for justice and generofity, and (which are rare endowments in a native of Africa) integrity and candor, than for prudence, vigor, magnanimity, and fortitude. By his bravery and conduct he delivered his kingdom from the oppression of a tyrannical usurper; and if he had lived, he would have advanced it to a degree of prosperity and

glory to which it has never attained.

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His troops remained under a perfuasion, that he was still a witness of their behaviour. Great numbers of them fell. The Portuguefe, the Spaniards, and Germans, fought with the most undaunted intrepidity; but the horse being driven upon the foot, broke their ranks, and threw them into confusion. The Moorish cavalry then pressed forward in thousands on every fide, and made dreadful havoc among them, till almost all of them were either slain or taken prisoners.

Sebastian himself, who still survived the fatal catastrophe, had, in the arrangement of his troops, and in the beginning of the engagement, acted the part of an expert commander; and he gave afterwards many conspicuous proofs of the most heroic valor, flying from rank to rank, encouraging and exhorting his troops; exposing himself to every danger; and often mingling fword in hand with the thickest of the enemy. Having had three horses killed under him, and his standardbearer stain, his foldiers, in the confusion of battle, mistook another standard for his, which

they flocked round, and left their king almost BOOK alone. The Moors called out to him, that if he XVI. 1579, would furrender, they would spare his life; "But you cannot," he replied, "preserve my honor." Then accompanied only by the count of Vimiofo, Christopher Tavora, and Nunno de Mascaregnas, he threw himself into the midst of the enemy, and fought desperately, till Vimioso and Tavora fell by his fide, and he himself. breathless and exhausted, and unable any longer to wield his fword, was feized, and difarmed by the furrounding Moors.

Death of Sebaftian.

These men quarrelled with one another concerning their royal prisoner, and from words they had recourse to arms; when a Moorish officer coming up, put an end to the dispute, by discharging a furious stroke of his sabre on the head of the king '.

In this manner perished the brave, but rash Sebastian; whose fate affords a striking instance of the pernicious tendency of courage and ambition, when they are not tempered with prudence and moderation. About eight thousand of his troops were killed, and all the rest, except a few who escaped to Arzile and Tangiers, were reduced to flavery. Of the nobility, the greatest pari fam 1

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This account of Sebaftian's death rests entirely on the testimony of Don Nunno de Mascaregnas, who was an eyewitness; nor did de Thou think there was any reason for calling it in question; though some other authors infinuate, that Sebaftian laid violent hands upon himself.

part were flain; and feveral of the most illustrious BOOK families in Portugal became extinct .

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Don Henry, grand uncle of Sebastian, a cardinal and a prieft, succeeded to the throne; but king of being of a weak and fickly constitution, and far Portugal. advanced in years, there was little probability, either that he would live long, or that he would leave any iffue behind him: and his short reign ferved only to give the feveral pretenders to his kingdom an opportunity of preparing to affert their claims to the fuccession.

The candidates were feven in number: the Candidates dutchess of Braganza, the king of Spain, the duke for the fueof Savoy, Don Antonio prior of Crato, the duke of Parma, Catherine of Medicis, and the fovereign pontiff.

The four first were grand-children of Emanuel the Great, father of Henry. The dutchess of Braganza was daughter of prince Edward, Emanuel's fecond fon; Philip was fon of the empress Isabella, his eldest daughter; the duke of Savoy, of Beatrix his younger daughter; and Don Antonio was a natural fon of Lewis, who was a younger fon of Emanuel, and brother to the prefent king. The duke of Parma was great grandfon of Emanuel, by a daughter of the abovementioned prince Edward. The queen-mother of France founded her claim on her supposed

1579. Don Henry ,

Mahomet, the exiled king, was drowned in attempting to make his escape; and Hamet, Muley-Moluc's brother succeeded to the throne of Fez and Morocco.

XVI. 1579.

FOOK descent from Alphonso III. who died about three hundred years before the present period; and the pope pretended that Portugal was feudatory to the fee of Rome, and belonged to him, fince the male-heirs in the direct line were extinct. Gregory had conceived a violent desire to make his natural fon a king, and he had once flattered himself with the hopes of making him king of Ireland, through the affistance of Philip. But as it is inconceivable how he could ever expect to perfuade Philip to quit his claim, fo nothing but folly or dotage could have determined him to profecute his own, in opposition to so powerful an antagonist.

The pretentions of Catherine of Medicis, and her hopes of fuccess, if the ever entertained any, were not less chimerical than those of the pope, It can hardly be believed, that this political princefs could, in her prefent competition, have any other end in view, but to obstruct the ambitious defigns of Philip, and to furnish the court of

France with a pretence for opposing him.

From the dukes of Savoy and Parma, Philip knew that he should not meet with opposition; fince, besides that his claim was better founded than theirs, thefe princes were in close alliance with him, and depended much upon his support and protection. Could Don Antonio have proved his mother's marriage, his right to the throne would have been unquestionable. He attempted to prove it, but in vain. Still, however, he perfifted in his purpose, and with some address and

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great activity, he gained over a confiderable party BOOK among the people. Most of the nobility, on the other hand, and the king himself, who knew the vanity of Antonio's pretentions to legitimacy, were inclined to support the claim of the dutchess of Braganza '; whose right, they thought, was clearly preferable to that of Philip, not only because the was descended from Emanuel by a male, and Philip by a female; but because an ancient and fundamental law required, that the crown should not be inherited by a stranger.

Philip's lagents at the court of Lisbon allowed. that if the dutchess of Braganza's father had been alive, his title would have been indisputable; but they maintained, that fince he had died without attaining possession of the throne, nothing but the degree of confanguinity to Emanuel ought to be regarded; and that as the dutchess and he were equal in that respect, the preference was due to a male before a female. And they farther infifted, that the law which excludes strangers from inheriting the crown, was not applicable to him, fince Portugal had formerly belonged to the kings of Castile.

Besides these considerations, which had very little weight, except with those who were for other reasons inclined to espouse Philip's interest, the duke de Ossuna, his ambassador, endeavoured to impress the scrupulous and timid mind of Henry with a perfuasion, that, in opposition to so

The duke of Braganza himfelf was forung, though not in a direct line, from the royal blood.

1579.

Philip's title

BOOK 1579.

powerful a competitor as the king of Spain, it would be impossible for the duke of Braganza to maintain possession of the throne; and that the fruits of all the glorious discoveries and conquests which had been made by his father and brother would be loft, and the kingdom itself involved in the calamities of war.

Don Henry difcuffes the

Henry's defire to prevent these unhappy conclaims of the fequences, determined him to proceed with great competitors. deliberation in examining the pleas of the contending parties. He consulted civilians in differ. ent parts of Europe, and called a convention of the States of the kingdom, to give him their opinion with respect to the measures proper to be purfued. The members of the convention differed widely in their fentiments from each other, and while some of them advised him, without delay, to nominate for his fuccessor which soever of the competitors he thought fit, others exhorted him deliberately to examine the feveral claims that had been offered. In compliance with this last advice the candidates were cited to appear; and they all fent commissioners, who pleaded the cause of the princes whom they represented, before Henry, as they would have pleaded any ordinary point of right before a civil judge.

Henry's deliberations.

This extraordinary trial, in which fo great attention seemed to be paid to justice, was suited to the feeble and irrefolute character, as well as to the habits of the king, who had spent his life in listening to the idle disputes of theologians. But his conduct was feverely cenfured by all men of

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prudence and understanding. They considered that the fate of kingdoms can almost never be decided by the forms or principles of law; and they regarded this farcical trial, not only as ufeless for the purpose which was intended, but as calculated to divide the kingdom into factions, which must fooner or later produce a civil war.

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He ought in the beginning, it was faid, to have His imprudeclared himself in favor of the dutchess of Braganza, whose right, according to the most common and obvious law of fuccession, was unquestionable; and who, besides, was much more acceptable to the nation, than any other of the candidates. He ought, after this, to have caused her right to be recognifed by the convention of the States, who would cheerfully have confented to acknowledge it; he ought to have required an oath of allegiance to her, in the event of his own demife, from the army, and all persons in public offices; and then, instead of losing his valuable time in confulting and deliberating, he ought to have employed it, in putting the kingdom into a posture of defence against the king of Spain.

But Henry was incapable of forming any refolution that required so much courage, vigor, and activity. He was no less attached to the dutchess of Braganza, and no less averse from Philip, than his nobility and people; yet he still continued to helitate between them with as much deliberation as if he had expected to live for many years.

In order to extricate himself from this perplexity, Henry began to think feriously of a proposal,

BOOK 1579.

XVI. 1579.

BOOK which had been made to him by some of his counfellors, to marry; and accordingly, notwithstanding his great age, his infirmities, and his having borne so long the character of a priest, he fent an ambaffador to folicit a dispensation from the pope. There was little probability of his living to fulfil his intention, and much less of his leaving any iffue behind him; yet Philip, being greatly alarmed at his defign, fent Ferdinand de Castello, a Dominican friar, to dissuade him from it, by reminding him of the offence which his marriage would give to all true catholics, and the triumph it would afford to the Lutherans, and other sectaries of the age: and when Henry resuled to admit Castello to an audience, a circumstance that furnished Philip with a stronger proof of Henry's alienation from him, than any which he had hitherto received, he employed all his interest at Rome, to prevent the pope from granting the dispensation.

Philip's manifefto.

In the mean time he spared no pains to conciliate the favor of the principal nobility; and having spread his emissaries over the kingdom, he published a manifesto, in vindication of his title, calling upon the people to turn their eyes towards him, as the only person who would have a right to the throne after the decease of the pre-This manifesto, while it incensed Henry more than ever against him, served in no degree the purpole for which it was designed. The Portuguese entertained the thoughts of falling under the dominion of the Castilians with an

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hereditary and violent aversion; and there was BOOK nothing in the character of Philip by which their

prejudice could be overcome.

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If Henry had availed himself of this disposition of his subjects, and acknowledged the dutchess of Braganza for his fuccessor, almost the whole kingdom would have concurred to support her claim; and fo great a force might have been prepared, as, with the affistance of foreign powers, would have either determined Philip to abandon his defign, or have prevented him from carrying it into execution. But as the duke and dutchess of Braganza were deterred from exerting themfelves, by their dread of Philip, and the weak irresolute conduct of the king; so Henry still flattered himself with the vain conceit, that Philip, as well as the other competitors, would fubmit to

Towards his nephew, Henry acted with much Bon Antonio less hesitation and reserve, than towards the other gitimate. candidates. Having obtained a bull from the pope, empowering him to judge of Antonio's claim to legitimacy, he examined the witneffes whom Antonio produced to prove his mother's marriage; and, having extorted from two of them a confession of their having been suborned, while the other two contradicted each other in delivering their evidence, Henry, on this foundation, joined with the circumstance of the prior's being mentioned by his father in his latter will as his natural fon, passed fentence, declaring him to be illegitimate.

B O O K XVI. 1579.

Antonio had influence afterwards to perfuade the pope to recal his bull, on the pretence of the king's having exceeded his powers. By this treatment Henry was highly exasperated both against the pope and Don Antonio; and he indulged his refentment against the latter, by banishing him first from the court, and afterwards from the kingdom. In obedience to this fentence, Antonio retired for some time into Castile; but he soon returned, and found, that his uncle's conduct towards him had not produced that effect upon the people which Henry had expected. Their attachment to the prior remained as strong as ever; and, as no pains were taken to form a party in the interest of the dutchess of Braganza, great numbers of the people were entirely devoted to him, and regarded him as their only resource against the tyranny of Spain.

Philip's military preparations. From this disposition of the people, together with the activity which Antonio displayed in augmenting the number of his partisans, Philip perceived that he must not fatisfy himself with arguments, manifestos, and private applications to individuals, but must resolve to support his claim by force of arms. Agreeably to this resolution, he issued orders for levying troops in Spain, Italy, and Germany; and gave instructions to the marquis de Santa Croce to hold the fleet in readiness for action. He was aware how much reason he had to expect opposition from several of the European powers; and, in order to prevent them from being alarmed, he caused a report to be

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was to from 1 propagated, that, having entered lately into an alliance with the new king of Morocco, his prefent military preparations were intended for an expedition which he had agreed to undertake, in conjunction with that monarch, against Algiers. This pretext ferved the purpose which he designed; and neither the king of France, nor the queen of England, nor any Italian or German prince, feemed

to attend to his operations.

In the mean time Henry's health declined daily, and all about him perceived that his death was fast approaching. He appeared now more desirous than ever to have his fucceffor fixed; and having for this purpose summoned the States to meet at Almerin, he seems to have resolved to declare himself either in favor of the king of Spain, or the dutchess of Braganza, according as he should find the one or the other of these competitors most acceptable to the States. But the members of this affembly could not agree. Most of the nobility and ecclesiastics had, by different means, been gained over to the interest of Philip, while the deputies of the cities were animated with the most irreconcileable aversion to his person and government.

In the midst of their deliberations and disputes the king died, leaving the nomination of his fuc- 31th, 1589. ceffor to five persons, to whom he committed the

regency of the kingdom.

The first act of the administration of the regents was to fend ambassadors to Philip, to dissuade him from having recourse to arms, till, according to BOOK XVI.

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B O O K XVI. the will of the late king, they should deliver their judgment concerning his right to the succession. But to this request, Philip, whose preparations were now complete, gave the following reply: "That his right was clear and indisputable; that he would not submit it either to the regents, or to the States, and that he did not desire to have any judgment

whatever passed in confirmation of it."

By this answer the regents were thrown into great perplexity. A majority of them stood well affected towards Philip; but they were prevented from declaring in his favor, by their dread of the indignation of the people, and were obliged to iffue orders for equipping the fleet, and strengthening the fortifications and garrifons of the frontier towns. But the great exertion which had been made lately by Sebastian, and the exhausted state to which the kingdom had been reduced, by the numberless expeditions to India and America, from which no fruit had been yet derived, fufficient to compensate either for the expense which they had cost, or the loss of men which they had occasioned, rendered it impossible for the regents, if they had been ever fo much inclined, to fecure the kingdom against so great a force as the Spanish monarch had prepared.

Philip's fleet and army. His army, including four thousand pioneers, amounted to thirty-five thousand men, and his fleet consisted of thirty men of war, seventeen frigates, and seventy gallies and ships of burden loaded with provisions and military stores. It was not likely that so great a fleet and army

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would find employment in subduing a kingdom fo ill prepared for defence, and fo much weakened by intestine divisions, as Portugal at the present period. But, besides that Philip was from natural temper, generally cautious to excess in his military enterprises, it should seem that, in the present case, he regarded the importance of the prize more than the difficulty of attaining it; unless it be supposed, that he still had reason to apprehend that the French and English would interpose.

He gave the command of the fleet to the marquis of Santa Croce, who was reckoned the ablest naval officer in Spain. But he hefitated for some time with regard to the person whom he should place at the head of his land forces. His hefitation, however, did not proceed from any doubt which he entertained with regard to the merit and abilities of his generals. For the duke of Alva was fill alive; whom Philip knew to be poffeffed of every qualification requifite to fecure the fuccess of his intended enterprise.

Alva, upon his return from the Netherlands, and the duke had been admitted by Philip to the same degree of favor and confidence which he had formerly enjoyed. But his son, Don Garcia de Toledo, having debauched one of the maids of honor, under a promife of marriage, Philip had put him under arrest, and given orders that he should not be releafed till he should consent to fulfil his engagement: notwithstanding which, his father had affisted him in making his escape; and, in order eftectually to disappoint the king's intention, had VOL. II.

BOOK XVI. 1580.

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BOOK concluded a marriage between him and his coufin. a daughter of the marquis of Villena.

XVI. 1580.

Philip, highly provoked with this contempt of his authority, had banished the duke from court. and confined him to the castle of Uzeda. Alva bore this indignity with extreme impatience, and perfuaded the pope, and some other foreign princes, to employ their intercession in his behalf; but all his applications for forgiveness had hitherto been ineffectual, and he had remained almost two years in confinement. This feverity,, exercised, for so Imall an offence, towards an old friend and fervant, in the decline of life, was by some ascribed to Philip's imperious temper, and his implacable resentment; whilst others said, that he had been long difgusted with Alva's arrogance; and that the duke's conduct in the affair of his fon, was only a pretence which Philip made use of, to justify himfelf for difmiffing from his prefence a man whole temper and manners were become intolerable.

To whichfoever of these motives Philip's treatment of Alva could be ascribed, it was expected, that neither his pride, nor his natural suspicion and distrust, would have suffered him to commit the charge of an enterprise of so great importance as the present, to one towards whom he had shown himself so inexorable; and it excited great surprise, when he fent two of his fecretaries to the duke, to inquire whether his health would permit him to undertake the command of the army which he had prepared for the conquest of Portugal. To this inquiry, Alva, without hesitation, replied,

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that he was ready to devote the little health and strength that were left him to the service of the king, and immediately afterwards he fet out for Barajas to receive his instructions. He defired liberty to pay his respects to Philip at Madrid. But fo ungracious was this prince even towards fuch of his ministers as he esteemed the most. and so incapable of entirely forgiving any offence or injury, that he refused to grant him admittance into his presence; and, having transmitted his instructions to him at Barajas, he ordered him to join the army as foon as possible. Those who remembered the barbarous cruelty which Alva had exercifed in the Netherlands, were not forry for the mortification which he fuffered on the present occasion; but they could not withhold the tribute of applause which was due to him. on account of that inflexible fidelity fo becoming in a subject towards his sovereign, which determined him, in the extremity of old age, to expose himfelf to all the hazards and hardships of war, in order to advance the interest of a prince by whom he had been treated fo ungratefully.

From Barajas, Alva went, as foon as he had re- March of the ceived his instructions, to join the troops, which Spanish were affembled at Badajox; and foon afterwards June. he began his march towards Elvas and Olivenca. Thefe, and all the other towns which lie north from the Tagus, as far as Setubal, on the western coast, though extremely averse to the Spanish government, yet being utterly unprepared for

XXI. 1580.

BOOK refistance, opened their gates, and proclaimed

Philip for their fovereign. XVI.

The marquis de Santa Croce, who had fet fail with the fleet from Port St. Mary, near Cadiz, found the same facility in reducing Faro, Lagos, and other towns on the coast of Algarva and Antejo; and he came in fight of Setubal, in a few days after the arrival of the land forces at that

Progress of the Spanish arms.

1580.

Hitherto almost no blood had been shed, and neither the fleet nor army had met with any opposition to retard their progress. The duke of Alva intended next to march without delay to the capital, but it was necessary, he thought to proceed now with greater circumspection than before, as Don Antonio had drawn together a confiderable body of forces, had been admitted into Lisbon. where he was proclaimed king by the people, and had strengthened several of the towns and forts by which the Spanish army must pass in their approach to that city.

Three ways of reaching Lifbon were proposed in a council of war that was held on this occasion. One of these was to cross the Tagus, some miles above the city, at the towns of Almerin and Santaren; another, to fend round the fleet to Almada, and to put the troops on board at that place, which lies almost directly opposite to Lisbon; and the third, to carry the army round by fea from Setubal to Cascaes. The two first of these ways were thought preferable to the last, by most of the officers, because they were fafer; yet the last was

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embraced by the duke of Alva. He acknowledged the justness of what his officers advanced in support of their opinion, but he observed, that, as the fleet was at hand, the army could be immediately put on board; that the passage to Cascaes was not long, and that, as the enemy were ill prepared for their defence, his success would be greatly facilitated by the celerity of his approach.

Alva was not disappointed in his expectation of the effect which his fudden arrival was calculated to produce upon the Portuguese. They were drawn up along the shore, as if they had intended to dispute his landing; but no sooner had the ships begun to fire upon them, than they retired, and fuffered him to land, and put his men in order. without giving him the smallest molestation. They might fill have obstructed his approach to Cascaes, as his road thither lay over a hill, defended with a battery of cannon, and full of rugged rocks and brambles, of which Don Diego de Meneses, commander in chief of the Portuguese under Don Antonio, had taken possession with between three and four thousand men. Alva ordered the Spaniards to attack them, without being deterred, either by the strength of the ground, or the number of the enemy. An old experienced officer, of the name of Bariettos, an intimate friend of Alva's, asked him in a whisper, Whether his attempting, with fo little precaution, to dislodge an enemy fo strongly situated, did not resemble the action of an ardent young warrior, rather than that of an experienced general? Alva smiled, and replied.

B O O K XVI. 1580.

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That a good general ought on some occasions to employ the prudence and circumspection of old age, and in others, the ardor and considence of youth. The event showed that his conduct, though apparently rash, was well adapted to the present circumstances. The Spaniards, inspired with their general's considence, advanced boldly, and the Portuguese (almost all of whom were raw and undisciplined) retreated, without waiting for their

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Alva laid fiege immediately afterwards to the town and castle of Cascaes, and by the briskness of his operations he foon compelled the garrifon to furrender. But on this occasion he fullied that renown which his wisdom and vigor would have procured him, by the cruelty which he exercised towards fuch of the Portuguese as had thrown themselves upon his mercy. In violation of his promise to Don Antonio de Castro, lord of Cascaes, who had joined him upon his first arrival in the kingdom, he gave up the town to be plundered by the Spaniards, and having fent all the foldiers in the garrifon to the gallies, he put to death, without any form of trial, Don Diego de Meneses, a nobleman of an illustrious family, and one who, on account of his personal merit, was universally respected and beloved. To this barbarity Alva was prompted by private resentment against Meneses'; although, it may be prefumed, that he would not have ventured to indulge it on the present occasion,

Thuanus, l. lxx. c. x.

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if he had not known that his conduct was conformable to the fentiments of the king. It was calculated to inspire the Portuguese with terror, but it ferved likewise more than ever to alienate their affections; and confidering how much superior the Spanish fleet and army were to any force which had been prepared to oppose them, it could not be colored with the tyrant's ordinary plea of necessity,

From the town of Cascaes, Alva led his army against the forts of St. John and Belen, both which he foon reduced to the necessity of furrendering; and being feconded in his operations by the fleet, the example of these places was quickly followed by Almada, and almost all the other fortified places on both fides of the river.

During these transactions Don Antonio, after Don Antonio, having, from a consciousness of the weakness of his party, essayed in vain to obtain advantageous terms from Philip, had pitched his camp, with all the forces which he could collect, on the east side of the river of Alcantara, on the road to Lisbon.

Alva amused him for several days with the hopes of an accommodation, in order to afford time for the operation of a spirit of despondency that prevailed in Antonio's army. Meanwhile he omitted not to procure the most accurate information concerning the fituation and strength of his camp; and, on the 25th of August, he refolved to attack it. Before he could approach the intrenchments, it was necessary that he should make himself master of the bridge of Alcantara,

1480,

BOOK XVI. 1580,

or lead his army to a confiderable distance up the river, the banks of which were fo fleep and rugged, as rendered it impossible to transport either horse or foot in fight of the enemy. Having drawn up his main army in order of battle, directly opposite to the Portuguese camp, he sent the horse under his fon Ferdinand de Toledo, and two thousand select infantry, under Sancho d'Avila, to cross the river several miles higher, where the banks were practicable, whilft he ordered Colonna, with the Italians, to make an affault upon the bridge.

Colonna's troops were twice repulfed, but in the third onfet, being supported by a body of Germans, which the duke fent to their affistance, they drove the Portuguese before them, and se-

cured possession of the bridge.

Soon afterwards Toledo and d'Avila appeared. The Portuguese, astonished at the fight of them, and dreading that their communication with the Antonio. city might be intercepted, threw down their arms after a short resistance, and betook themselves to flight. The Spaniards purfued, and flew between two and three thousand before they could reach

the town.

Don Antonio, who displayed on this occasion neither fortitude nor conduct, had fled with his troops to Lishon. There he knew that he could not long remain in fafety, as, besides the insufficiency of the fortifications, the magistrates, and many of the inhabitants, were disaffected to his interest; and therefore, immediately after releasing

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all the prisoners in the city (a poor expedient to recruit his ruined army) he fet out, attended by the count de Vimioso, and the bishop of la Guarda, two of his most zealous friends and partifans, with a small number of troops, for the town of Santaren.

XVI. 1530.

The magistrates of Lisbon did not hesitate a moment in resolving to submit to the conqueror. and the town was, immediately after the battle. The Portuguese fleet delivered into his hands. at the same time struck their colors to the marquis de Santa Croce, and received fuch a number of his Castilians on board as gave him the entire command.

It was now become Philip's interest to provide Cruel treats for the security of Lisbon and its suburbs, as much ment of the as for that of any of his towns in Spain; and Alva fo far fulfilled his engagement with the magistrates, as to prevent any formidable number of his troops from entering the town; but he gave up the fuburbs ( which were at that time no less considerable than the town itself ') to be ransacked and plundered, without making any distinction between the friends and enemies of the king. He fuffered them likewise to pillage the houses of fuch of the inhabitants within the town as had difcovered any attachment to Don Antonio, and he allowed parties to go out and plunder- all the country and villages in the neighbourhood. A Spanish historian fays, that the foldiers committed these enormities without the duke's permission,

Thuanus, I. Ixx. c. x.

BOOK XVI. 1580.

yet no punishment was ever inflicted on them, and no restitution was ever made to the many thousand innocent persons, who were involved in the same

common ruin with the guilty.

After a conduct fo barbarous and impolitic, there was little reason to expect that the people of Lisbon would be able foon to overcome their averfion to the Spanish government. From their dread of Alva's tyranny they took the oath of allegiance which was prescribed to them; and, from the same motive, they witnessed those public rejoicings which he appointed to be celebrated on account of his fuccess; but being unable to conceal the anguish of their minds, the acclamations which they uttered were feeble and languid, and intermixed with fighs and groans.

The duke of Alva's joy, foon after his entrance into Lisbon, was interrupted by intelligence which he received from Spain, that Philip had fallen fick and that his physicians were extremely apprehenfive of the iffue of his diftemper. Alva knew that the king's death, at this crisis, would probably render all his labors and fuccess in Portugal abortive, and therefore he suspended for a while

the profecution of the war.

New preparations of Don Antonio.

In this interval Don Antonio exerted himself with great activity, and employed every expedient which he or his partifans could devife to raife another army, flattering himself with the hope of being able to maintain his ground, till the French, or some other foreign power should be persuaded to espouse his cause. In the town of Santaren he

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aded 1 he had lately been received by the people as their only rightful fovereign, and every mark of affection and respect had been shown him; yet so great a change had his defeat and flight produced, that they resused to admit him within the town, till he engaged that he should not remain in it beyond a limited time; and, immediately after his departure, they sent ambassadors to the duke of Alva, with an offer of submission.

From Santaren Antonio directed his course northwards, and in the province which lies between the Minho and Douro, he prevailed upon eight or nine thousand of the inhabitants to take up arms. With these tumultuary troops he procured admittance, partly by force and partly by persuasion, first into Aveiro, and afterwards into the city of Oporto; but in both these places he exercised a degree of severity towards those whom he suspected to be his enemies, that was extremely ill calculated to increase the number of his friends.

He remained at Oporto till he was informed that the duke of Alva, being delivered from his anxiety with regard to the king's health, had fent a part of his forces against him, under Sancho D'Avila, who was advancing towards the banks of the Douro with great rapidity. D'Avila had under his command only five or six thousand horse and foot, and Antonio's army consisted of about nine thousand; but from past experience, the latter was deeply sensible of the difference between his undisciplined forces and those of d'Avila, and he was well acquainted with the character of that general;

B O O K XVI. B O O K XVI. who, in the Netherlands, and other places, had given the most conspicuous proofs of military skill and intrepidity. His safety he knew depended on his preventing the Spaniards from crossing the Douro, which, for many miles above Oporto, was so deep and rapid, that without boats they could not attempt to pass it. He exerted himself therefore with diligence in removing the boats and barks from the south side of the river, and planted his troops at different places on the north side, to watch the motions of the enemy.

Progress of the Spaniards under d'Avila.

In the mean time d'Avila advanced, and took possession of Villanova, a little town which stands opposite to Oporto. From that place he sent a party of his troops in fearch of boats; who returned without success: but d'Avila being resolved to omit nothing in his power to accomplish his delign, fent them back with orders to pursue their march a great way further up the river, which they did accordingly, and collected about twenty boats, from places at so great a distance from Oporto, that Antonio had judged it unnecessary to remove them. Still, however, most of the Spanish of ficers thought it impracticable to effectuate their passage with so small a number; and it was imposfible to bring them down the river, by reason of certain armed vessels which Antonio kept ready to intercept them. To remedy this inconvenience, d'Avila ordered a part of his troops to march up to the place where the boats lay, and there he transported them, without opposition, to the other fide. These troops had time to intrench

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themselves, before the enemy received intelligence of their landing; and, under the shelter of their intrenchments, the rest of the forces were immedi-

ately carried over in the fame way.

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This unexpected fuccess in the beginning of Defeat of his enterprise, gave d'Avila the highest affurance Don Antoof victory, and demonstrated how little reason he had to dread the efforts of an enemy, who, on fo critical an occasion, had shown themselves so deficient both in courage and vigilance. Their conduct afterwards was fuch as their negligence and cowardice, in permitting the Spaniards to land in fmall bodies, one after another, gave reason to expect. D'Avila drove them before him, till, with very little bloodshed, they were entirely routed and dispersed. This active general lost no time in fending a party of horse in pursuit of Don Antonio, who had fled, accompanied by a fmall number of his partifans, to Viana, a town on the feacoast near the northern frontier of the kingdom. Upon the approach of the Spaniards to that place, he attempted to make his escape by sea, but was driven back by a violent storm, which overtook him soon after he had embarked. He then difmissed his attendants, and, disguising himself in the dress of a common failor, eluded the search of his pursuers. Philip had recourse to his favorite weapon, a proscription, and offered a reward of eighty thousand ducats to any person who should deliver him into his hands. Notwithstanding this, so great was the aversion of the Portuguese towards the Castilian government, or such their

BOOK 1580.

attachment to Antonio, that no person was tempted BOOK by the proffered reward, either to feize him, or to give information of the place of his retreat, Antonio remained in the country between the Minho and Douro from November till May, living fometimes in the houses of the nobility, and sometimes in monasteries and convents, till he found an onportunity of going by fea to France.

Entire fubjection of Portugal;

XVI. 1580,

> After the dispersion of the prior's army, all the towns between the Minho and Douro opened their gates, and submitted to the conqueror. The regents appointed by the late king, had some time before declared themselves for Philip; and the duke of Braganza, who feemed to have despaired from the beginning of being able to affert his wife's title to the throne against so potent an antagonist, had taken the same oath of fidelity and allegiance that was required from others.

and of the colonies.

The colonies in America, Africa, and the Indies, which belonged to the crown of Portugal, quickly followed the example of the mothercountry; nor did Philip find employment for his arms in any part of the Portuguese dominions but the Azores, where Antonio's agents had perfuaded the people to proclaim him king. Some troops which were fent against them under an officer of the name of Valdes, were defeated by the governor of Angra. In the following year Antonio obtained from the court of France, a fleet of fixty ships, with about fix thousand troops, which he landed on one of the ifles called St. Michael; but the marquis of Santa Croce coming upon him with

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a fleet and army much superior to his, obtained a BOOK decifive victory over the French both by fea and land, and afterwards reduced all the inhabitants to a state of entire subjection and obedience.

XVI.

The fucces of Philip's arms, and the great accession of dominion which he had thereby acquired, occasioned much anxiety to the neighbouring powers; and excited in the Dutch and Flemings the most alarming apprehensions. They had with infinite difficulty withflood his efforts, while he was employed in the pursuit of that plan of conquest which he had now carried into execution; and they feemed, at this time, to have much greater reason than ever to dread that they should soon be obliged to submit to whatever terms of peace he should be pleased to prescribe. Yet, as will appear in the fequel, Philip's acquisition of the Portuguese dominions in India ferved rather to expose him to the affaults of his revolted subjects, than to furnish him with the means of fubduing them, and contributed more than any other event to that wealth and greatness which they afterwards attained .

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Antonio escaped, and once more returned to France and the marquis de Santa Croce treated all his French prifoners as pirates, begause war had not been declared between France and Spain.

Thuani hift. fui temp. ann. 1579-80. Cabrera, l. xiii. Ferreras, part xv. &c.

OF THE REIGN OF

## PHILIP THE SECOND.

KING OF SPAIN.

## BOOK XVII.

BOOK XVII. 1580. State of affairs in the

W HILE Philip's arms were employed in subduing the Portuguese, the prince of Parma had little room for the exertion of that activity and enterprise by which he was fo eminently distin-Netherlands. guished. Having, according to his late agreement with the fouthern provinces, dismissed his Spanish and Italian forces, he had thereby weakened his army fo much, as to render it unable to keep the field. The States of these provinces had labored in vain to fulfil their part of the agreement. Their finances were exhausted, all their levies were carried on flowly, and their cavalry were fo few in number, that they had been obliged to confent that Farnese should retain some of the foreign horse for his body-guard.

> It was fortunate for him, that at this juncture the confederates were in a fimilar state of weakness.

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After the departure of their auxiliaries, only a small number of troops remained; and, after the revolt of fo many of the nobility, and the death of the count de Bossut, which happened about this time, there was scarcely a single officer, a native of the Netherlands, whom they could intrust with the chief command. Matthias, a young man of no experience, bore the name, but was incapable of discharging the duties of governor. The whole weight of the administration lay upon the prince of Orange, who was involved in an endless maze of the most intricate political negociations; and without his continual prefence, activity, and vigilance, the weak frame of the confederacy would quickly have fallen to preces. William was therefore obliged to leave the direction of military affairs to the count of Renneberg, La Noue, and Norris; and although these men were not deficient either in spirit and intrepidity, or in prudence and good conduct, yet they neither had forces fufficient to undertake any important enterprise, nor means to support such as were under their command '.

The greatest part of Brabant and Flanders had acceded to the union of Utrecht; but the strength of the confederacy was not proportioned to its extent. The union of the several members was not sufficiently compact, the administration was not properly ascertained, and there was no common centre of power and authority established. The

Bentivoglio, part ii. lib. i. Vol. II.

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B O O K XVII. 1580. BOOK XVII. 1580.

troops were scattered in small bodies throughout the provinces; no adequate provision was made for their pay; they lived at free quarters on the inhabitants; and, as luxury is the constant attendant of licentionsness, the country was miserably oppressed and plundered, and the people reduced to an incapacity of furnishing the necessary contributions and supplies. In this situation many persons lamented that they had not embraced the opportunity lately afforded them, of making their peace with the king; and they began to accuse the prince of Orange who had advised them to reject the conditions that had been offered, of having preferred his private interest to that of the provinces. A fpirit of discontent prevailed every where, except in Holland and Zealand, and it was generally believed, that they must soon either make their peace with the king of Spain, or elect fome other fovereign, able to deliver them from the calamities with which they were overwhelmed.

The causes of

The prince of Orange was at this time in Ghent, their diffress, employed in quieting the diffurbances above mentioned. At the desire of the States he published a vindication of his conduct, together with his fentiments concerning the causes of that distress in which the provinces were involved, and the means of their deliverance. As what he faid on this occasion, and some weeks afterwards, in the affembly of the States at Antwerp, contains an interesting view of the situation of the Netherlands at the present period, it will not be improper to lay before the reader an abstract of the principal particulars.

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He began with complaining of the injustice of BOOK those by whom he had been accused of having contributed to render ineffectual the late negociation Explained by for peace at Cologn. " For no person in the Ne. the prince of therlands, he faid, had greater reason than himself Orange. to wish for peace, since without it he could never hope to obtain either the liberty of his fon, whom he had not feen for many years, or the recovery of the many rich inheritances which he had loft, or the power of paffing the remainder of his life, which now began to decline, free from labor and anxiety. But while, for these reasons, joined with compassion for the miseries of the people, no person could more ardently defire to have an end put to the war, he could not help regarding war, with all its calamities, as infinitely preferable to the proffered peace; by one article of which many hundred thousands of the inhabitants would have been driven linto exile; and by another, all who remained, exposed to the mercy of the Spaniards, without any fecurity either for their liberty or their lives, but the promises of those by whom the most folemn oaths had been often violated. These were not his sentiments only of the peace that had been offered, but the fentiments likewife of the States, and of all the fincere friends of their country; nor could that detraction and calumny in which many persons had of late indulged themselves, be ascribed to any other cause, but the fecret machinations of those, who, from felfish views, were desirous of reducing the Netherlands under the Spanish yoke.

XVII.

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## 276 -HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

BOOK XVII.

"There was much ground, he acknowledged, for complaining of the irregularities of which the troops had been guilty in some of the provinces: but nothing could be more unjust than to throw the blame on those who were intrusted with the reins of government. The governors of states ought to be judged of fometimes by the orders which they iffued, and not by the fuceefs with which their measures were accompanied; for what could it avail to interpose their authority, when they wanted power to enforce obedience? The difregard shown by many, to the orders of the States and council, was the principal fource of the evils complained of. In all the provinces, except Holland and Zealand, there was scarcely a fingle town that would admit the garrifons appointed for its defence. To this was to be ascribed that facility with which the enemy had made themfelves masters of Allost, and other places; and it was owing to the same cause, that the troops were fo much scattered throughout the provinces; the confequence of which was, that the inhabitants of the country and of the open towns, fuffering equally from the forces of the States that lived at free quarters upon them, and from the incursions of the enemy, were totally disabled from contributing their share of the public expenses. there was no fund fufficient for the regular payment of the troops; without which, it was in vain to expect either that they could be kept under proper discipline, or employed successfully in any important enterprise.

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BOOK

XVII.

1580.

"To remedy the abuses complained of, the most effectual method was to place numerous garrisons in the frontier towns. For if this were done, the great number of small garrisons would become unnecessary; and the interior parts of the provinces being thereby delivered both from the oppressions of their friends and the devastations of the enemy, the people would be more able to furnish their proportion of the supplies, the troops would be paid more regularly, and discipline more easily maintained.

" The States ought not however to stop there, but to exert themselves strenuously in drawing together fuch an army of regular forces, as might face the enemy in the field, or at least disturb and interrupt their operations. It was their want of fuch an army that had occasioned the loss of Maestricht; and, if care were not taken to supply that want, there was ground to apprehend, that the confederacy would foon be stript of all the towns in the inland provinces. But in order to carry this, or any other expedient into execution, it was necessary that, instead of suffering each town or province to dispose of its troops and contributions as it thought fit, a senate or council should be established, with authority to determine every thing relative to the application of the public funds and the conduct of the war.

"He was far from intending that this council should be invested with the power either of imposing taxes or of enacting laws. He meant only that it should be empowered to levy such taxes as were

Т 2

BOOK XVII. imposed, and to execute such laws as were enacted, by the general States of the union. That it should not be subject to be controuled by particular towns or provinces; nor obliged, in applying the public money, distributing garrisons, and regulating the motions of the troops, to have recourse on every emergency to the States; but should have such a degree of discretionary power conferred upon it, as would enable it to seize the opportunities of action when they offered, and to conduct the operations of the war with secrecy and dispatch."

William exhorts the confederates to renounce their allegiance.

Besides these and some other points of less importance, Willram ventured, both in the writing which he published, and afterwards in the assembly of the States, to explain his sentiments concerning another subject, which he had long revolved, and concerning which he had sounded the inclinations of many of the deputies. Having, before the present period, despaired that peace could ever be restored between the king and the considerated provinces, he exorted the deputies to consider, whether they were not now in a situation which required that, renouncing their allegiance to Philip, they should transfer it to some other prince, who was able and willing to defend them.

His reasons.

In the eyes of the greater part of Europe, this proposal appeared in the highest degree audacious. Philip had, ever since his accession, been considered as the most powerful prince of the age; he had lately received an immense increase of power by the acquisition of Portugal, and men could not

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States media our c what doubt that the revolted provinces must soon yield to his superior arms, and bitterly repent of the offence which they had given him.

B O O K XVII. 1580.

Reasons however were not wanting to show, that the measure proposed was the best which the people of the Netherlands could embrace in their present circumstances. If they could have entertained the prospect of obtaining peace on tolerable terms, it might be difficult perhaps entirely to vindicate their conduct. The evils which accompany a change of government, are generally fo great, and the obligation to maintain the prefent, fo ftrong and powerful, that nothing but the most urgent necessity can ever justify a people for shaking off their allegiance to their legal prince. But, from the issue of the late negociations at Cologn, it was manifest, not only that Philip was unalterably fixed in his purpole to govern the Netherlands with despotic authority, in contradiction to their fundamental rights and laws; but that the utter extirpation of the protestants, who were now become the most considerable part of the people, was a condition, without which he was determined never to be reconciled. Desolation therefore, and flavery, must have been the certain consequences of peace, and no greater evils could be apprehended from a continuance of the war. " Even allowing (faid the prince of Orange, in the affembly of the States) that the king should be persuaded, by any mediating power, to grant us fuch conditions as our consciences would suffer us to accept, yet what fecurity can we obtain for his fulfilling them?

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B Q O K XVII. 1580.

He has, before this time, been fet at liberty by the pope from his most facred obligations. It is an established maxim of Philip and his counfellors, that with heretics, such as we are, no promises or oaths are binding. Although he were of himself inclined to fulfil his engagement, yet the Roman pontiff and the Spanish inquisitors would reclaim, and foon persuade him to alter his intention. It has been faid by some, continued William, that he is a prince of a compassionate disposition, and that we may fafely rely upon his mercy. Of the truth of this, we can best judge from what we have feen and known. Do the deeds that have been perpetrated by his command, in India, in Italy, or in Granada, authorize us to form this favorable judgment of his character? Has not every corner of the Netherlands been overflowed with the blood of thousands of our countrymen, barbarously butchered by his command? Are not all the neighbouring kingdoms filled with his subjects, who have been driven from their native land, either to enrich the countries that have afforded them protection, with our trade and manufactures, or to drag out a miferable life in poverty and exile? We know how grievously our late conduct has offended him, and from what we have feen on former occasions, we may judge of the measure of his refentment. He may humble himself so far as to footh us with the hopes of a more mild administration; but we should remember the difcovery which we made lately, when, by the letters that were intercepted, it appeared, that, instead of

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the generous purposes that were pretended, nothing was meant but to employ some of the provinces as instruments of vengeance against the rest."

Influenced by these considerations, which show- Opposition of ed that Philip had entirely loft the confidence as well as the affections of his Flemish subjects, a great majority of the deputies were inclined to renounce his authority. Some of the catholic members, however, prompted partly by political principles, and partly by concern for the fafety of their religion, had the courage to remonstrate.

They expatiated on the greatness of Philip's power, and the danger to which the States would expose themselves, by adding so great an affront to their former provocations. And to their representations on this head they subjoined, that they could not adopt the strong measure that was proposed, consistently with their oath of allegiance;

fince the king was unquestionably their rightful fovereign, they had all folemnly recognised his right; and the provinces were his inheritance, which he had derived from a long uninterrupted line of illustrious ancestors 3.

But this reasoning had no weight with the prince of Orange, St. Aldegonde, and the other leaders of the protestants. They considered the breach between Philip and the confederated provinces, as irreparable; and knew, that long before the present period, he was animated against them with the most implacable refentment. " It

BOOK XVII. 1580.

Bentivoglio, part ii. l. i.

B O O K XVII. 1580.

was too late, they faid, to talk of keeping measures with the king; and no part remained to be ef. pouled, but to provide against the effects of his displeasure. Nor was there the smallest reason for those scruples by which the catholic members were disturbed, either with regard to the lawful. nels, or the expediency of renouncing their alle. giance. Kings were invested with authority, not for their own fakes, but for the interest of the people whom they were appointed to govern, If the rights of princes were to be investigated, they would be found, in most of the kingdoms in Europe, to have been derived from the will of their subjects, who, grown impatient under the injuries of former princes, had taken from them, and given to their successors, what they had an undoubted right to bestow. A prince was indeed fuperior to each individual in a State; but neither his interest, nor his pleasure was to be put in the balance with the fecurity and happiness of the whole. On the contrary, he might be judged, and even punished for his abuse of power, by the supreme council of the nation. If this truth were doubted of in other places, it could not be controverted in the Netherlands; where till lately, both the name of king, and the measure of obedience which kings commonly require, were utterly unknown. In the Netherlands the engagements between the prince and the people were strictly mutual; and in engagements of this fort, it was a clear and universal maxim, that the infidelity of eithe of the two contracting parties,

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The protestant members, in comparison with whom the catholics were few in number, being ons about thus confirmed in their purpose of abjuring the dominion of Philip, the affembly proceeded next to confider, whether they should substitute another fovereign in his place, or establish a republican government, upon the plan of that confederacy which was already formed. The latter of these measures would have been embraced by all the deputies; by the protestants, from the conformity between the principles of a commonwealth. and those of their religion; and by the catholics; from their perfuation that fuch a government would neither be fo highly affronting to the king, nor so effectually preclude the hopes of a future reconcilement. But the present seeble state of the United Provinces obliged them to facrifice their inclination to their prefervation and fecurity. From the representation which the prince of Orange made of the disorders that prevailed, together with the view which he exhibited of their ftrength and refources, they were convinced; that however ftrenuoufly they might exert themselves, they would be able to wage only a tedious defensive war; by which their strength would be gradually wasted, till they were at last compelled to accept of such terms of peace as the king should be pleased to prescribe. To have recourse therefore to the assistance

Meteren, lib. x. and Grotius, p. 70.

XVII. 1580.

\$ 0 0 K of fome foreign prince, feemed not only expedient but necessary; and to engage the prince of whom they should make choice to espouse their cause with greater zeal and fincerity than they had hitherto experienced in their allies, they refolved to confer upon him the fovereignty of the provinces, with all the prerogatives which had been enjoyed by the princes of the house of Burgundy.

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Motives for chufing the duke of An-

Nothing now remained but to fix upon the person to whom the offer of this high dignity should be made. The prince of Orange, having beforehand founded the inclinations of the emperor and other German princes, had found them utterly averse from taking any concern in the affairs of the Netherlands. The queen of England, and the duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France, were the only princes at that time in Europe, between whom the States thought there was ground to hesitate; and they were determined to concur in giving the preference to Anjou, by the prince of Orange; who, besides representing to them the necessity of electing a sovereign who would refide in the country, informed them that their making choice of the duke, would be highly acceptable to the queen. " For the had writ to him on the subject, and given him affurances of granting the States her affistance, in case the sovereignty were conferred on one with whom the had so much reason to expect to live on amicable terms '. "

Meteren, lib. x.

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BOOK

XVII.

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From this it should seem, that William had offered to employ his influence in favor of Elizabeth; and it may be prefumed, that unless he had found her averse to his proposal, neither he nor the other protestant leaders would have been inclined to give the preference to Anjou. Very different motives indeed were affigned for the prince's conduct, by his enemies. His principality of Orange, they observed, lay in the centre of France. He had lately married Charlotte de Bourbon, of the blood royal of that kingdom'. For many years he had maintained an intimate correspondence with the leaders of the Hugonots: and he flattered himfelf with the hopes of enjoying the entire direction of the duke of Anjou, a weak prince, who would probably be more attentive to his pleasures, than to the affairs of government, These interested considerations, it is likely, were not entirely without their influence; but the other circumstance above mentioned feems to afford a fill more fatisfactory account, fince there was in reality no room for hefitation between Elizabeth and Anjou; and Elizabeth, as will appear in the fequel, would certainly have rejected the fovereignty, in case an offer of it had been made to her. This political princess expected to derive advantage from that animofity which the election of Anjou was likely to produce between the courts of France and Spain. And the prince of Orange knew, that as it would be easier to recongile the

Daughter of the duke de Montpensier.

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BOOK XVII. catholics in the United Provinces to the election of a prince of the fame religion with themselves, than to that of a protestant; so, without making such a choice, there was little probability that he should ever prevail on the Walloons to accede to the confederacy. Whatever were William's motives, a great majority of the deputies entered readily into his opinion, and they would have proceeded instantly to the election, if it had not been deemed a matter of too much consequence to be decided without consulting their constituents.

La Noue taken prifoner.

In the mean time the operations of the war were not wholly discontinued, although neither of the two contending parties was in a condition at this period to make any great or vigorous exertion. By means of a stratagem conducted by count Egmont, Farnese acquired possession of Courtray in Flanders, as he did by the like means of fome other places. On the other hand, count Egmont and his brother were taken prisoners by La Noue in the town of Ninove: and not long afterwards La Noue himself lost his liberty. This gallant officer having been attacked unexpededly by the marquis de Roubais, commander in chief of the Walloon forces, was overpowered by numbers, and obliged, through the disadvantage of his ground, to furrender himself a prisoner of war. The States were fensibly affected by the loss of a person of such uncommon abilities, and they offered to give in exchange for him count Egmont and the baron de Selles, who had been taken prisoner at Bouchain. But the prince of Parma refused to

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consent to this exchange, and faid, that he would never agree to give one lion for two sheep. La Noue was conducted to the castle of Limburgh. where he remained long; and, during his confinement, employed himself in writing those military and political discourses which were afterwards published, and much admired by his cotemporaries. Count Egmont's relations, and those of de Selles, folicited Philip with great importunity to confent to the exchange proposed. But this prince, who never hearkened to the voice of gratitude or compassion where his interest interfered. declined complying with their request; and, rather than yield to the enemy fo great an advantage as the recovery of La Noue, he chose to leave his friends to languish in prison for several years.

These two noblemen bore this indignity with extreme impatience. De Selles, conscious of having exerted himself with the most fervent zeal in detaching the Walloons from the revolted provinces, fell a facrifice to the indignation and chagrin which the king's ingratitude and his own unfortunate situation were calculated to inspire. The same causes produced a different, but no less melancholy effect, on count Egmont, whom they deprived of the use of his understanding. Through the tender affiduous care of his fifter, whom the States permitted to attend him, he recovered from this diffress. But Philip ftill declined confenting to the exchange, till the year 1585, when La Noue engaged in the strictest manner never to bear arms against him in the Netherlands; and

B O O K XVII. 1580.

## 288 HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

BOOK XVII. 1580. the king of Navarre, the duke of Lorrain, and others, became fureties for his fulfilling this engagement. It is difficult to determine whether Philip's conduct afforded on this occasion a more striking proof of pusillanimity or ingratitude, while no stronger testimony could have been given of the extraordinary merit of La Noue, and the dread which his enemies entertained of his abilities.

Hefenion of count Renneberg.

About the time when La Noue was taken prifoner, the confederacy sustained another loss by the defection of count Renneberg. This young nobleman having been appointed governor of Friesland by the States, had subdued the cities of Deventer and Groningen, besides several other places of confiderable confequence; and his zeal and fervices were the more highly valued, as all his relations adhered to the Spanish interest, and he himself was of the catholic persuasion. But these circumstances which gave him so much merit in the eyes of his countrymen, were the means by which he was enticed to abandon the cause which he had hitherto fo illustriously supported. The prince of Parma readily perceived the advantage which they afforded for gaining him over from the confederates; and, with this view, he employed the count's fifter and her husband, the baron de Monceaux, to offer him the following terms of accommodation: That he should be confirmed in the government of Friesland, and have that of

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Overyssel annexed to it; that twenty thousand BOOK crowns should be immediately paid him, besides an annual pension of twenty thousand florins; that a town, of which he was feudal superior, should be erected into a marquifate; and that he should have two regiments of troops to be distributed throughout his governments, in whatever stations he should think fit. Besides these enticements. another object was held forth to him, more tempting perhaps than any of the rest; he was flattered with the hopes of obtaining in marriage the countels of Megen, of whom he was greatly enamoured, and who possessed one of the richest fortunes in the Netherlands. His religious principles confpired with these allurements, and made him lend an open ear to his fifter's repeated reprefentations of the danger to which the catholic faith was expoled, and of the deligns formed by the prince of Orange for its destruction. He hesitated however for some time, and trembled at the thoughts of the infamy in which he was about to be involved; but at last he consented to accept of the terms proposed, resolving to conceal his having done so, till he should take proper measures for delivering the towns and forts into the hands of the Spaniards.

His design could not however entirely escape the penetrating eye of the prince of Orange. Various circumstances concurred to alarm William's apprehensions, which made him resolve, without delay, to prevent, if possible, the fatal effects of his intended treachery. He instantly went into Friefland, under the pretence of quelling some

VOL. II.

XVII. 1580.

XVII.

disturbances in that country, and ordered some officers to draw their troops together, and lead them against Lewarden, Harlingen, and Staveren. These orders were executed with secrecy and dispatch, and all the three places were wrested out of the hands of those to whom count Renneberg had committed them.

The count, who refided at this time in Gronin. gen, was thunderstruck when he received intelligence of this difaster, which at once showed him that his perfidy was detected, and put it in a great measure out of his power to fulfil his engagements to the prince of Parma. Still, however, he was either not prepared, or he had not courage, to throw off the mask. He complained loudly of the affront that had been offered him, and of the ingratitude with which his Tervices had been repaid. Among the officers who witneffed his confusion on this occasion, there were two to whom, as he knew their fidelity to the States to be inviolable, he had not communicated his designs. These men, thinking it still practicable to preferve him in his duty, exhorted him to go immediately to the prince of Orange, in order to clear himself from the fuspicions which were entertained against him. " This is the only expedient in your power, faid one of them, if you are conscious of innocence; nor can I doubt that you are, when I confider, that by perfifting to act the part which your duty and honor require, you must promote your interest more effectually, than by violating these facred obligations, and involving your mame in perpetual infamy." Renneberg listened attentively

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to this discourse, changed color frequently, and at last burst into tears. He repeated his complaints of the treatment which he had met with. but he would not explain his intentions, nor comply with his friends' advice. The two officers then left him; and, after acquainting the chief magiftrate of what had paffed, they withdrew privately from the city.

By a popular and infinuating behaviour, accompanied with strong affeverations of the falshood of the reports which had been propagated, Renneberg laid afleep the suspicions both of the magistrates and the people, till the plot which he had formed was ripe for execution. Having brought in fecretly a body of troops, which he concealed in the palace, and put arms into the hands of his domestics; with these, and the catholic inhabitants devoted to the Spanish interest, he overpowered the garrison; and having thus made himself master of the town, he proclaimed himself governor, in the name of Philip, and then mounted the fortifications with the troops which he had introduced.

But he did not long enjoy any of the advan- Rennehere's tages which he expected to derive from his revolt, remorfe and and some of them he never attained. The money promised him was never paid, and the countels of Megen was given in marriage to another. His health being impaired by the fatigues which he had undergone in his military enterprises, the remembrance of his treachery filled his mind with anguish and remorse, which preyed upon his sickly

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BOOK XVII. 1780.

frame, and carried him off in the prime of his age, lamented even by those whom he has be. traved, who felt for his misfortunes, on account

of his many amiable accomplishments 7.

Election of Anjou.

The losses which the confederacy suffered from La Noue's imprisonment, and the infidelity of Renneberg, ferved only to confirm them in their refolution of conferring the fovereignty on fome foreign prince; and the reasons above mentioned. joined to the influence of the prince of Orange, determined the States of the feveral provinces and towns to give the preference to the duke of Anjou. The election was made accordingly in due form by the General States, and a folemn embaffy fent to give intimation of it to the duke, who readily accepted the offer, and confented to all the conditions annexed to it. They were contained in a treaty figned by him and the ambaffadors of the States at Pleffi-les-Tours, on the 29th of September; and the principal articles were those which follow: "That the States of the United Provinces having elected Francis de Valois, duke of Alencon and Anjou, for their fovereign, did thereby confer upon him all the titles and prerogatives which their former princes had enjoyed. That in case the duke should die without issue, the States might elect another fovereign, and that the Netherlands should in no event be annexed to the crown of France. That in case the duke should die leaving feveral fons behind him, the States should have power to determine which of them, should succeed him in the fovereignty, and that if the prince

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whom they should make choice of were under BOOK age, they might assume the government into their own hands till he should arrive at the age of twenty. That the duke should maintain inviolate, all the rights and privileges of the people; that he should summon the general assembly of the States to meet at least once a year; and that, if he should fail to iffue letters of convocation, they should themselves have power, agreeably to ancient form and cultom, to meet together as often as they should judge expedient. That the duke should fix his residence in the Low Countries; but if his affairs should, on any occasion, call him thence. he should nominate for governor some nobleman a native of the Netherlands; with the confent and approbation of the States. That all his counfellors should be natives of the provinces, except two or three of the French nation, who might be admitted into the council, provided the States should give their consent. That he should make no innovation in religion, but afford his protection equally to the protestants and catholics. That Holland and Zealand should, both in respect of government and religion, remain in their prefent state, being obliged, however, to contribute their proportion of the supplies requisite for the support of the confederacy. That the duke should spare no pains to engage his brother the king of France to affift him in carrying on the war; that he should accede to all the treaties that subsist between the States and foreign powers, and should not himself form any new alliance without their

XVII. 1580.

B O O K XVII. 1580. confent. That all foreign foldiers should be difmissed on the first requisition of the States: And lastly, That if the duke should fail in performing any of the foregoing conditions, his right to the sovereignty should cease, and the provinces be no longer bound to yield obedience to his authority."

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As this treaty was negociated in France, Philip complained to Henry of his breach of friendship in permitting it; and Henry affected to be much offended with his brother's conduct, but in reality he did not feel that displeasure which he pretended. On the contrary he fecretly rejoiced in the prospect of being delivered from a brother, whose levity and caprice had given him much inquietude, and it is said, that he assured the States privately, that he would fend them either troops or money, as soon as the troubles of his kingdom were composed.

Philip's profcription of the prince of Orange.

But whatever reason Philip had to be offended with the French monarch, he was much more highly incensed against the prince of Orange, whom he considered as the contriver, as well as the chief promoter of the revolution that had taken place. Having oftener than once attempted, by negociation and artistice, to free himself from an enemy, who had surnished employment to his ablest generals and best disciplined forces for so many years, he had recourse, on this occasion, to the ignoble expedient of exciting some wretch or desperado to make an attempt upon his life. For this purpose he published an edict of proscription against him, in which he accused him of having

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excited and fomented that spirit of discord, which BOOK had proved the fource of fo much milery to the Netherlands; interdicted all the subjects of the crown of Spain from holding communication with him, and from fupplying him with bread, or drink, or fire, and offered to any person, who should deliver him dead or alive, or take away his life, the fum of twenty-five thousand crowns, befides making him and his affociates noble, if they were not already noble, and granting them a full pardon of all crimes, however enormous, of which they had been guilty.

This practice of commanding affaffination, almost unheard-of fince the days of the Roman triumvirate, was fuitable to the dark, revengeful, and ungenerous nature of Philip. The prince of Orange could have retaliated the injury; but he scorned so ignoble a revenge, and chose rather to rest his defence on an appeal to the world for his

integrity. His vindication or Apology, addressed to the His Apology. affembly of the States, and of which he fent copies to the feveral courts in Europe, is one of the most precious monuments of history. It contains an interesting relation of many particulars, which throw light, not only on William's own character and that of Philip, but likewife on the characters of several of the other principal actors in the Netherlands. The author has, in some parts of it, indulged himself in the language of keen refentment, and ventured to affert boldly feveral facts; of which the cotemporary historians have spoken

XVII. 1580.

158Q.

with referve. Some allowance perhaps must be made for that just indignation with which he was inflamed; but when it is considered, that no perfon had better access to information; that no prince possessed a higher character for fincerity and truth, having never, in a fingle inflance, been convicted by his numerous enemies of infincerity and falshood; that the relation of the facts which he afferts was published at the time when they are faid to have happened, and when it was easy for the persons accused, if accused unjustly, to have confuted him; that their interest and honor called loudly for a confutation; and yet, that no fuch confutation, nor any vindication of their characters, which had been arraigned as odious at the bar of the universe, was ever attempted. When all these circumstances are duly considered, there does not appear any fufficient reason for calling in question the facts contained in this Apology, although some of them are of such a nature as to require the strongest evidence to justify the reader for yielding his affent .

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The conduct of the confederated States on this occasion was such as William had reason to expect. After employing several days in examining his Apology, they voted him an affectionate address, in which they attested the falshood of those imputations on which Philip had sounded his proscription. They declared, that as the prince had been regularly elected into the several offices which he held, so he had never accepted of any office but in

An abstract of this Apology is subjoined to the conclusion of this work.

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consequence of their most earnest entreaties. They prayed him still to exercise the authority with which they had invested him, expressed their gratitude for his many eminent fervices to the commonwealth, and promifed to yield a ready and cheerful obedience to his commands. They concluded with expressing their anxiety for his life, and made . him an offer of maintaining a company of horse- Dec. 173 guards, of which they entreated him to accept, being persuaded that on his preservation their own fecurity depended.

BOOK

In a few days afterwards they gave him another proof of that zeal and fincerity with which they Solemn rehad espoused his cause. Their election of the of their alleduke of Anjou was a virtual renunciation of their giance to allegiance to their former fovereign; yet all public acts ran as before in the name of Philip and that of the States; the oath administered to persons entering upon public offices had not been altered, and the people in some of those cities in the confederacy, which had confented to Anjou's election, were extremely averse to alter it, from that attachment which men often discover to exterior forms. even after the institutions on which they were originally founded have been abolished; but the States, sensible at last of the incongruity between these forms and the steps which they had lately taken, and apprehensive of danger from leaving it in any respect ambiguous to whom the people owed their allegiance, agreed now to remove all ground of ambiguity by a folemn abjuration of Philip as their fovereign.

An act of abjuration was accordingly passed,

XVII. 1581.

BOOK with great unanimity, in an affembly held on pur. pose at the Hague, confisting of deputies from Brabant, Guelderland, Zutphen, Flanders, Hol. land, Zealand, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Friesland, In this act, after enumerating the principal griev. ances which had prompted them to form their present resolution, they declared it to be a right inherent in every free people, to withdraw their allegiance from a prince who obstinately refuses to fulfil the duty which he owes them; and much more from one who violates the fundamental laws, and acts the part of a tyrant and oppreffor. They pronounced Philip to have forfeited for ever all authority in the Netherlands. They forbade all judges and others to use his name, arms, or seal, and they required the magistrates of towns, and all other persons in public offices, to bind themselves by an oath to oppose him and his adherents to the utmost of their power.

These resolutions were carried into immediate execution. All Philip's feals were broken, all commissions and letters patent in his name were cancelled, and the new oath was administered to every person who possessed any civil or military employment. It was not without difficulty that the magistrates in some towns were persuaded to take this oath. Some remaining fcruples of conscience, arising from a regard to their former oaths, gave uneafiness to several; and others doubted of the expediency of fo strong a measure at the prefent crisis, on account of the ships and merchandile belonging to the people of the Netherlands, which were in the ports of Spain, But no pains were

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fpared to remove these objections, and at last almost the whole inhabitants of the above mentioned provinces entered into the views of the States, and took the oath that was prescribed

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BOOK XVII. 1581.

About this time Matthias left the Netherlands, after having refided there between three and four years, without having acquired either reputation to himfelf, or any advantage to the people whom he had been called to govern. He had employed all his influence to perfuade the States to make choice of him for their fovereign, but the motives above explained having determined them to give the preference to the duke of Anjou, it should feem that the prince of Orange had been able to satisfy Matthias as to the necessity of that measure, since he remained in the country for a considerable time afterwards, and accepted of an annual pension of sifty thousand guilders from the States.

During the course of these civil and political transactions, the troops were not wholly unemployed. In Friesland, the king's forces were com-

Upon a representation of the prince of Orange, the States formed at this time several useful regulations relative to the administration of justice, to the finances, and the troops. That council of state likewise was established, of the necessity of which William had labored to convince them, which was instituted partly to remedy the inconveniencies arising from the slowness, with which the deliberations of the States were unavoidably conducted, and partly to serve as a sheck upon the future sovereign. Grotii An. l. iii. Meteren, &c.

1º Matthias had afterwards a better fortune. His brother refigned to him the kingdom of Hungary in 1608, and that of Bohemia in 1611, and the year following he obtained the Imperial crown. Strada, lib, vii. Meteren, p. 317,

BOOK

XVII.

1581.

manded by Schinch and Verdugo, between whom and colonel Norris and count Hohenlohe feveral fharp rencounters passed, with various success; but the only important event which happened at this time in the northern provinces, was the acquisition of Breda, into which the Spaniards were treacherously admitted in the night by some of the garrison, whom the agents of the prince of Parma had found means to corrupt.

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The prince himself was, in the mean time, intent on the reduction of Cambray. But not having a fufficient number of troops to carry on the fiege with vigor, he was obliged to convert it into a blockade. D'Inchi, the governor, had recourse for relief to the duke of Anjon, and was warmly feconded in his application by the States and the prince of Orange. Anjou perceiving how deeply his honor was concerned to gratify this first defire of his new subjects, published at the court of France his intention of attempting to raise the fiege. This was no fooner known, than a great number of the nobility flocked, from all parts of the kingdom, to his standard. With their assistance, he collected in a few days an army of near twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse, and marched directly towards Cambray. The prince of Parma, too prudent to contend with an army, which, besides being greatly superior to his own in number, was conducted by a brave and warlike nobility, quitted his intrenchments and retired. In this manner was Cambray delivered, after it had been blockaded for feveral months, during which

<sup>11</sup> Meteren , p. 313.

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the inhabitants had been reduced to great distress. Anjou having brought along with him an ample fupply of provisions, it was immediately introduced; and foon after, he made a magnificent entry into the city, amidst the applauses of the people, who faluted him, the Protector of their Liberty. He then laid fiege to Chateau-Cambresis, and quickly compelled the garrison to furrender "?

This fuccess which attended Anjou's first enterprise afforded inexpressible pleasure to the confederated provinces, and ferved to heighten their expectations of his future government. He was earnestly entreated by the States to improve the present opportunity, and to advance with his army towards Flanders. But it was not in his power. he told them, to comply with their request. All his troops but a few were volunteers, who had engaged in his fervice only for a short time, and for the fingle purpose of the relief of Cambray. He could not prevail upon them to remain with him much longer; and he had not yet provided money for their pay. But he hoped to return foon with a powerful army; and he would in the mean time employ his utmost influence to interest his brother and the queen of England in their caufe.

There were not wanting powerful motives to Anjou foliinduce the French king to grant Anjou that affift- cits aid from ance for which he now applied; fince, befides his brother. being delivered from the fickle, restless spirit of a brother, who had greatly increased the troubles of his reign, he would have thereby avenged himself

Meteren, p. 315. Bentivoglio, part. ii. lib. ii.

BOOK XVII. 1581.

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XVII. 1481

BOOK of Philip, who had fecretly undertaken the protection of the catholic league, which, as will be afterwards related, had been lately formed by the duke of Guise, on pretence of providing for the fecurity of the catholic religion, but in reality to control the fovereign's authority. But Henry was not in a condition at this time to make an open breach with Philip. By his indolence and voluptuousness, added to the numberless calamities in which his kingdom was involved, his finances were exceedingly reduced; and the king of Navarre on the one hand, and the duke of Guile on the other, furnished more than sufficient employment to all the policy and power which he possessed. Promises therefore of future aid were all that Anjou could obtain from him, and this disappointment determined the duke to set out immediately for England, where it should feem he had better ground to hope for affiftance than in his native country.

Elizabeth had for some time past appeared to lend a favorable ear to a proposal of marriage which he had made to her; and his expectations were at prefent raised to the greatest height. On his arrival in England, she gave him the most gracious reception. Soon afterwards, she ordered her ministers to prepare the marriage contract; and, in the presence of many witnesses, after a long discourse with him apart, she took a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his; which both the spectators and the duke interpreted as a declaration of her confent. It is impossible to believe with some historians, that Elizabeth

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meant only to amuse Anjou, and thereby to ad- BOOK vance some political design. It is inconceivable how any defign whatever could be promoted by carrying her diffimulation to fo great This wife princess, notwithstanding the many extraordinary accomplishments which adorned her character, was not exempt from the weaknesses that are peculiarly incident to her fex. Flattered by the court which Abjou had long affiduoufly paid her, she appears to have entertained the most partial fentiments of affection towards him, and feriously to have intended to listen to his proposal. But at last her prudence, her ambition, and that love of independence which she had cherished through her whole life, prevailed over the temporary passion into which she had been betrayed. She made an apology to Anjou, for her change of resolution, and gave him the strongest assurances of affistance and support in his new dominions. The marriage was no more mentioned, and the duke, after a stay of three months in England, fet fail for the Low Countries; escorted by a fleet, on board which there was a great number of nobility and gentry, whom the queen had defired to attend him, as a proof to his new subjects, that although the intended marriage had not taken place, yet she was deeply interested in his profperity.

XVII. 1581.

## TO

OF THE REIGN OF

## PHILIP THE SECOND.

KING OF SPAIN.

## BOOK XVIII.

BOOK XVIII. T582. Aniou's ar-

AFTER a passage of three days, the duke of Anjou landed on the 10th of February, at Flushing. From Flushing he went to Middleburgh, and was conducted from thence by a fleet of fifty ships of Netherlands, war to Antwerp. The banks of the Scheld, the entrance into the town, and the streets which led to the palace, were lined by the citizens, to the number of twenty thousand in arms; and no expense was faved, which a wealthy commercial city could afford, to express their attachment and After having taken the usual oath to maintain their rights and privileges, he received from the States the oath of allegiance; and then entered upon the fovereignty, while all around him wore a face of happiness and joy.

In Antwerp, the public exercise of the catholic religion had for some time past been prohibited.

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XVIII.

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But now, in order to gratify the new fovereign, BOOK it was permitted in one of the churches; and all catholics were allowed to worship there, according to the rites of their religion, upon condition that they should abjure the king of Spain, and fwear allegiance to the duke. Only a few accepted of this indulgence, while the greater part chose rather to forego the privilege held forth to them. than fo folemnly to renounce their former fovereign. On this occasion the States, as well as the duke, were not a little alarmed; and thought it necessary without delay to provide against the danger that might arise from persons who gave fo clear a discovery of their disaffection to the present establishment. They first published one edict imposing a fine of 200 guilders on those who should decline taking the oaths; and soon afterwards another, by which the reculants were banished from the Netherlands'.

In the midft of these transactions, that joy Attempt to which Anjou's arrival had diffused throughout affaffinate the provinces was interrupted, by an attempt orange. which was made, not many days after his inauguration, upon the life of the prince of Orange. The defign was first conceived in Spain, by a man of the name of Ifonca; and it was suggested by him to Gaspar Anastro, a Spanish banker in Antwerp, of ruined circumstances, as an expedient for retrieving his affairs. To induce Anastro to undertake the execution of the bloody purpose, lsonca fent him a fign-manual of the king, in

Meteren, p. 325: 110 ale belieben id bonib haf

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BOOK XVIII. 1584.

which Philip engaged to pay him eighty thon, fand ducats as foon as the affailination should be perpetrated. Anastro had not courage himself to execute fo bold and desperate an enterprise, and therefore he communicated Isonea's proposal to John Jauregui, a menial fervant in his family. a young Bifcayan, of a thoughtful, melancholy difposition, whom he knew to be both trusty and audacious. With this young man Anastro found there was little need for perfualion. "I am ready," faid he, "to perform infantly what the king fo earnestly desires. I despite equally the proffered reward, and the danger to which I shall be exposed: for I know that I shall die. I only ask that you will affift me with your prayers to God, and employ your interest with the king, to provide for my father in his old age". Jauregui was the better qualified to succeed in his design, as he fooke the German language fluently, and was in no danger of being known to be a Spaniard. He was confirmed in his purpose by a priest of the name of Timmerman; from whom he received absolution of his fins, and the frongest affurances, that by putting to death fo great a heretic as the prince of Orange, he would infallibly fecure the favor of God and everlasting happinels. If mugt as a order A such of a

Under a full conviction of the truth of what the priest had declared, this deluded wretch fet out for the castle, and having taken his station near the door of the apartment in which the prince had dined, he watched the opportunity of his coming out; when stepping up to him, he discharged

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a pistol at his head, loaded with a single ball. BOOK The ball entered a little beneath his right ear. and paffing under his palate and upper teeth, came out on the other fide. William was deprived for a moment of his fenfes; which he no fooner recovered, than he defired his attendants to fave the life of the affaffin. But the guards, transported with fudden rage, had dispatched him. The appearance of the prince's wound, from the effusion of blood, was extremely formidable, and as he was deprived of his speech by the same cause, the fpectators believed him to be at the point of death. The news of this difaster spread quickly over the town, and excited in all ranks of men, inexpressible anguish and despair. The citizens poured in crowds from every quarter to learn the particulars of that calamity which had befallen them; and as if each individual had loft his own proper parent, as well as the common parent of the flate, there was nothing to be heard but the voice of forrow and lamentation.

In the midst of this distress, a rumor was propagated, that the French were the authors of the murder, and that it had been perpetrated in order to deliver the duke of Anjou from the restraints which had been imposed on his authority. This report gained easy credit from the people. Their grief was now converted into fury, and they flew to the palace with an intention to execute a fpeedy vengeance.

In the mean time it was known at the castle. that the affaffin was a Spaniard, from papers found XVIII 1582.

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XVIII. 1582-

BOOK in his pocket, by Maurice, the prince's fon'. Of this discovery, notice was immediately carried to the prince, who had now recovered his speech: and he was informed, at the fame time, of the danger to which Anjou and his countrymen were exposed. This intelligence affected William in the most fensible manner; and notwithstanding his present critical situation, he wrote, with his own hand, a billet in exculpation of the French. By this, joined with the pains which were taken by St. Aldegonde, the people were undeceived and pacified. The affaffin's body having being exposed to public view, it was foon discovered that he had been a domestic of Anastro. Anastro himself had fled; but his fecretary, whom he had left behind. to wait the iffue of Jauregui's attempt, and Timmerman, the prieft, were feized, and having confessed their guilt, they were condemned to fuffer death. At the defire of the prince of Orange, who never neglected an opportunity of inculcating humanity upon his countrymen, no tortures were inflicted on them. They were first strangled and then quartered, and their heads and limbs fixed over the gates of the city'.

William's recovery was dubious for fome time, on account of the difficulty which the physicians found in stopping the effusion of blood; but after

Maurice was at this time only fifteen years of age, but was then remarkable for his attention and fagacity.

They remained there till the city fell into the hands of the prince of Parma, when they were taken down by the popilh ecclefiaftics, and burried with every mark of veneration which their fuperstition could devise.

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all their applications had failed, they made a number of perfons succeed one another in preffing the mouth of the wound with their thumbs. without intermission, for the space of several days and nights; and this expedient proved at length Successful Sucia admot on a signi dativ

BOOK XVIII. 1582.

Anastro having gove from Antwerp to Tournay. where the prince of Parma then relided, affirmed confidently that William had died of his wound. Farnese too rashly believed him, and wrote letters to the citizens of Antwerp, and other places, exhorting them to return now to their duty, fince that person was removed by whom they had been led aftray. These letters would not have been calculated, in the present disposition of the people. to promote the prince of Parma's defign, even if the information on which he proceeded had been true: but as they did not arrive till after the people were delivered from their apprehensions with regard to William's life, they ferved only to excite their ridicule and indignation . The state of the

Meanwhile the operations of the war were Return of not discontinued by either of the contending the Spanish. troops. parties. The States acquired possession of the town of Alloft, and the prince of Parma made himself master of Steenwick and Lierres. He was foon after enabled to act with greater vigor than

While his life was in danger, a public fupplication was offered up to heaven for his recovery; and when it was accomplished, a folemn thanksgiving was celebrated.

Bentivoglio, p. 263. Meteren, p. 326. Thuanus, lib. lxxv, and beathout harden has a reduced, one

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BOOK XVIII. 1582. the weakness of his army had hitherto permitted him to exert. Having confented, with great reluctance, to the difmission of the Italian and Spanish troops, he had employed all his address to convince the Walloons that it was in vain for them to expect, with their own forces alone, to bring the war to a conclusion. He found it extremely difficult to overcome their diffidence, and was obliged to observe the utmost caution, in order to avoid awakening those suspicions which they had long indulged against the Spaniards. At length how. ever he accomplished his delign through the marquis de Roubais, who, as was mentioned above, had acted a principal part in promoting the reconcilement of the fouthern provinces. With this nobleman. Farnese had formed an intimate connexion, and had labored affiduoufly to make him fensible how necessary it was that the troops should be permitted to return. The marquis, flattered with the familiarity to which he was admitted, and prompted by the view of advancing his credit with the king, yielded at last to the prince's folicitations, and then employed his influence with the States fo effectually, that they not only confented to the return of the forces, but even petitioned the king for it in the most earnest terms .

Nothing could be more acceptable to Philip than this application, and orders were immediately fent to Italy for the march of four regiments of veterans, confisting of near ten thousand men; who, together with several thousand Burgundians

Bentivoglio, p. 258.

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and Germans, arrived in the Netherlands towards the end of the summer 1582. After the arrival of this reinforcement, the prince of Parma's army amounted to fixty thousand foot and four thoufand horse; but finding it necessary to leave more than the half of that number in garrifons, he could keep only about thirty thousand in the field; and a part of these was employed in Friefland under Verdugo, while the rest were under his own immediate command in the fouthern provinces. With these last he took Chateau Cambresis. Ninove, Gaesbec, and several other places; he attacked the army of the States, which he compelled to retire under the cannon of Ghent; and then he laid fiege to Bruffels. But the feverity of the feafon, and the difficulty of finding provisions in a country which had been so long the feat of war, obliged him to defift from his attempt, and to put his troops into winter - quarters ......

The United States, on the other hand, difco. State of the vered great alacrity and zeal in supporting their confederacy. new established government. They raised their yearly revenue from two millions four hundred thousand, to four millions of guilders, with which they maintained, besides their native troops, a considerable number of British, French, and German forces. But so great a proportion of these forces was necessary for defending the forts and towns, that no army could be affembled fufficient to contend with the enemy in the field, nor even to raife the fiege of any of those places which the

BOOK XVIII.

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XVIII. I 582.

BOOK prince of Parma attempted to fubdue. Thus the number of towns belonging to the confederates was daily diminished, while their acquisitions were few and inconsiderable. And, as the enemy was now much more formidable than before, they were filled with the most disquieting apprehensions when they looked forward to the opening of a new campaign. Anjou, who participated with them oits affiftance in the anxiety which fo critical a fituation was fitted to excite, did every thing in his power to procure from France the fuccours which he had given them reason to expect. After many delays, the duke the Montpensier and marshal Biron arrived in the Netherlands in the end of November. with between feven and eight thousand men, partly Swifs and partly French. With this reinforcement, under fo able a general as Biron, Anjou perceived that he might retard the progress of the prince of Parma's arms, but that he could not hope either adi to ster? to expel him from his new conquests, or to bring the war to a conclusion: he therefore renewed his folicitations at the court of France, and endeavoured to engage his brother more heartily to espouse his to taur millions of scalders, with values

Henry's deliberations.

confederacy.

Henry's counsellors were much divided in their opinions with regard to the measures proper to be pursued on this occasion. By some of them, the present opportunity was represented as the happiest that could offer for uniting the Netherlands to the crown of France. But, as these men did not intend to advance the interest of Anjou, they did not employ any argument addressed to Henry's friendship or generosity; and instead of exhorting

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him to afford his brother aid sufficient to establish himself securely in his new sovereignty, they advifed him only to give him fuch affiftance as might enable him to stop the progress of the Spanish arms. To this counsel they subjoined, that Henry ought to maintain a fleet in the Channel, and an army on the frontier of Luxemburgh, in order to prevent the prince of Parma from receiving fupplies from Spain or Italy. And in this posture, they faid, he ought to wait, without exposing his troops to the bazards of war, till the contending parties should exhaust their strength, when it would be easy for him to drive the Spaniards out of the Netherlands, and his brother and the States, in order to obtain his protection, would gladly accept of whatever terms he should think fit to impose. But fuch a plan, which the great abilities of Farnese would have disconcerted, was too refined, and required too much labor, patience, attention and expense, to be relished by a prince so indolent and voluptuous as Henry, who was so improvident of the future, and whose affairs were so exceedingly involved.

He listened with less reluctance to a proposal Henry refuses made him by some others of his counsellors, who to grant his being well acquainted with his character, perceived that his hesitation proceeded in a great measure from the shame of deserting his brother, and that in reality he wished for a pretence to reject his application. These men, secret enemies to the duke, and partifans of Philip, whose money it was believed they had accepted, were afraid to declare openly against a measure in which the heir-

BOOK XVIII. 1582.

BOOK XVIII. 1582.

apparent of the crown, supported by the queen. mother, was so deeply interested. They affected to approve highly of the granting Anjou's request, provided the king could comply with it confiftently with the interest of his kingdom. But both the interest and bonor of France, they thought. required that the States should previously agree. that, in the event of the duke's death without iffue, the king and his heirs should succeed him in the fovereignty of the Netherlands. They knew that the States would not confent to this condition. It was, however, proposed to them, and having met with that reception from them which there was reason to expect, notice was soon afterwards fent to Anjou by the queen-mother, and his other friends, of the unsuccessful issue of their endeavours to ferve him'.

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Anjon's attempt on Antwerp and other places. This disappointment, which rendered it impossible for him to sulfil the expectations of his new subjects, was calculated to give him the most sensible concern. A candid and grateful prince would have thought himself bound more strongly than ever to exert himself in their behalf; and, by a careful attention to their interests, joined to a faithful discharge of his other obligations, to atone for his failure in that engagement which he was unable to perform. Widely different were the sentiments which arose in the mind of the faithles, ungenerous Anjou. Apprehensive that the Flemings, disgusted on account of their disappointment in those hopes of assistance with which they had been deluded, might withdraw their alle-

Thuanus, lib. xxvii. c. 9. Meteren, lib. xi.

giance from him, and reconcile themselves to BOOK their former fovereign; he resolved to prevent them from executing this defign, in case they should conceive it, and in violation of all the oaths which he had fworn so lately, he formed a plan of depriving them of their liberty, by making himself master of all the towns into which his troops had already found, or could by force or stratagem find admission.

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This strange design, it is said, was first suggested to him by his partisans in France, in order to induce Henry to grant him the affiftance which he folicited; and it was strongly recommended by Fervaques, and other French nobility who had accompanied him to the Netherlands. men were all real or pretended friends to Anjou. and affected to be deeply concerned for his honor, with which they perfuaded him, that fuch a limited authority as he poffessed was utterly incompatible. Had they been his most inveterate enemies, they could not have advised him to a measure more likely to prove fatal to his interest. Yet this weak prince, without communicating his intention to Biron or Montpenfier, who would have refused their confent, readily embraced the counsel that was given him, and immediately proceeded to deliberate with his advisers concerning the means of carrying it into execution.

It was agreed, that the French troops, in all the towns where they were quartered, should, under the pretence of a mutiny, take up arms, and expel the garrisons; and in this manner he

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Thuanus, f. xxvii. c. 10. Meteren, p. 336.

BOOK XVIII. 1583. got possession of Dunkirk, Dixmude, Dendremonde, and feveral other places; but his principal object was the city of Antwerp. It would have been in vain, he believed, to attempt making himself master of so strong a place by open force. with fo fmall a number of his troops as were within the city; and therefore, in conjunction with his counsellors, he exerted all his ingenuity in contriving how force and artifice might be united. On this occasion, fortune seemed to favor his defign. Towards the middle of January, after the frost had continued for some time, the States fignified their intention to have his troops employed in an expedition against some of the enemy's towns in Friefland, which, on account of their wet fituation, were accessible only in the time of frost. Anjou pretended to enter with great alacrity into this design. He immediately gave orders to have his troops conducted to the villages in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, where he held them ready to march upon the shortest notice; and, under various pretences, he brought to his court at Antwerp almost all the French noblesse, who had been dispersed throughout the Netherlands.

Being thus prepared, his plan was to seize upon the gate of Cronenburgh, which lay next to the palace, with his body-guards, and to introduce his army silently in the night; but, on the day immediately preceding, an obscure report of his intention was circulated among the citizens, and a general alarm excited. The prince of Orange and the magistrates thought it proper to inform the duke of this report, and proposed to hang up lighter fior con reft fefficity ing the ftro land ticu the inner the

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lights in the city, and to stretch chains accross the BOOK ftreets and gates, in order to quiet the apprehenfions of the people. Anjou could not, without confirming the suspicions entertained against him. refuse his consent to this proposal; but as he posfeffed a confiderable share of his mother's duplicity and artifice, he assumed with so much seeming fincerity, the appearance of indignation against the authors of the report, accompanied with fuch ftrong professions of attachment to the Netherlands in general, and the city of Antwerp in particular, that not only the magistrates, but even the prince of Orange were almost persuaded of his innocence. The streets however were barricaded. the whole town was illuminated, and many of the citizens were under arms.

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These circumstances having made it necessary for Anjou to change his plan, he went early next morning to the prince of Orange's apartment in the castle, and after informing him that he had ordered his troops to be drawn out for a general review before their departure for Friesland, he defired the prince to witness it. Whether William had still any suspicion of his design is uncertain; but he refused to accompany him, alledging the badness of the day, and the state of his wound, as an excuse for his refusal; and he advised the duke to put off the review till some future day, when the people would be entirely delivered from those apprehensions with which they were at present disquieted. Anjou pretended that he would comply with his advice, and left him; but soon afterwards he fent him

XVIII.

X 0 0 K XVIII. 1583. notice, that, finding the day grown better, he still resolved to hold the review, as he had at first directed. He then gave orders to remove the barricades in the street which leads to the gate of Ripdorp, and set out, attended with a retinue in arms, amounting to between two and three hundred men.

He had no sooner passed the gate and the draw-bridge, than his attendants sell sword in hand apon the guards, and having butchered some of them, obliged the rest to take shelter in the guard-house. The orders which he had sent to the camp had been punctually executed. The whole army was in motion, and seventeen companies of soot, six hundred lances, and sour troops of horse were at hand, and ready to enter the city. They rushed in impetuously; and, having set fire to some houses near the gate, as a signal for the rest of the troops to hasten forward, they spread themselves over the town, crying out, "May the mass flourish! the city is taken,"

The citizens had been in some measure freed from their apprehensions, by Anjou's protestations on the evening before; but they had not been put entirely off their guard. They slew instantly to arms, and quickly formed a close compacted body, of sufficient strength to make head against the enemy. Their number was soon augmented by others, who slocked to their assistance from every quarter of the city. None declined exposing themselves to danger, or trusted to others for their defence. They remembered the devastations which had been committed some

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years before by the mutinous Spaniards, and were perfuaded, that they could not now avoid a repetition of the difasters which they then suffered. by any other means, but by exerting their utmost vigor, and showing, each man for himfelf, a contempt of danger. Animated therefore by the dread of that ruin with which their fortunes, their friends, their wives and children. were about to be overwhelmed; and fired with indignation against their ungrateful, perfidious enemy, they advanced with a degree of fury which the French troops were unable to withstand. Many of the French had entered the Thefe men houses for the fake of plunder. were quickly surrounded by the citizens, and put to the fword; the reft were driven back towards the gate. There they expected, either to be supported by their friends from the camp, or to make their escape out of the city: but, having neglected to fecure the portcullis, the foldiers, who had thut themselves up in the guard-house, had fallied out and let it down. By this circumstance, the French were thrown into despair, and the refolution and spirit of the citizens augmented. The fituation of the former was now truly deplorable: disappointed of that assistance from without, on which they had depended, and crowded together into a narrow space; while the citizens; who purfued, poured their shot upon them without a moment's intermission; they fell in heaps above one another, till the gate was choked with the dead and wounded.

BOOK XVIII. 1583. BOOK

The citizens made next a desperate attack on xvIII. a body of French troops who had mounted the rampart, and either put them to the fword, or tumbled them headlong from the wall. Of this fcene, Anjou himfelf, and the Swifs troops, who had attempted in vain to burst open the gate, were spectators. At first he thought it was the citizens that were thrown down, and believed it must have been by accident that the portcullis had been shut. He could not suppose that the inhabitants, unaccustomed to the use of arms, could, in the space of an hour, have discomfitted so great a number of disciplined forces; but he was foon undeceived in his conjecture. The citizens. still inflamed with indignation, on account of his unprovoked, atrocious attempt, pointed their cannon towards the place where he stood, and killed a confiderable number of the Swifs.

The prince of Orange, who lodged in the castle, at the opposite end of the city, remained ignorant for some time of what had passed, and when intelligence of it was brought him, he at first believed it to be some accidental scuffle between the inhabitants and foldiers; but at last receiving more certain information of the truth, he fet out with a part of the garrison for the scene of action. In his way thither he met Fervaques advancing towards him with a body of French troops, which had been left behind in the palace. At the first onset, Fervaques himself was taken prisoner, and his troops, disheartened by the loss of their commander, and still more by the

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consciousness of their treachery, were easily over-William then proceeded to the gate of Ripdorp, where he arrived in time to prevent the citizens from wreaking an ufelefs, though merited.

vengeance upon the prisoners.

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Nothing could be more, affecting, fays an historian 10, whose information was derived from eye-witnesses, than the spectacle at the gate: the dead bodies piled one above another to a confiderable height, and the wounded mingled with the dead, weltering in blood, uttering the most doleful lamentations, and struggling to disengage themselves from each other, or from the bodies of their flaughtered friends. At the prince's intercession the lives of all the prisoners were spared, and many of the wounded recovered, through the attention and tenderness of those to whose care they were committed.

The number of the French found dead in different parts of the city, amounted to fifteen hundred, among whom were upwards of three hundred persons of distinction. And the prisoners, including those who surrendered to the prince of Orange, were computed at two thousand. So great was the loss which Anjou sustained from this ill-concerted enterprife; while only one hundred of the inhabitants were killed, and the fame number wounded. It would be impossible, notwithstanding the desperate bravery of the citizens, to account for this extreme disparity betwixt the loss on the one fide, and that on the other, were it not for a circumstance which one of the historians "? has mentioned, that the French, either from

" Van Meteren. 11 Reidan. Vol. II.

BOOK XVIII. 1583.

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Nook negligence, or their general's confidence of success, xvIII. had brought very little ammunition with them, and stood, during the greatest part of the combat, exposed to the enemy's fire, without having any other weapon to defend them but their swords.

It is easier to imagine than describe the confufion with which Anjou must have been overwhelmed, when he reflected on the egregious folly into which he had been betrayed. He passed the night in a neighbouring fort called Berchem. where there was neither furniture nor provisions. From that place he wrote a letter to the fenate of Antwerp, in which, after boafting abfurdly of the proofs which he had given of his attachment to the Netherlands, he subjoined, That although the misfortune which had happened, had arisen from the unworthy treatment which he had met with, yet he was deeply penetrated with forrow and repentance on account of it; that he still retained all his wonted affection towards them, and had fent them this letter partly to inquire what were their intentions with respect to him, and partly to defire that they would fend him his papers, furniture, and fervants; hoping that thefe last, who were entirely innocent of what had been done, should not suffer any harm ".

To this letter the fenate made no return, but referred it to the confideration of the prince of Orange and the States; and in the mean time Anjou being utterly destitute of every thing necessary for the support of his troops, left Berchem and directed his march towards Dendremonde. He

<sup>11</sup> Meteren, p. 339.

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intended to have gone thither by the shortest road, but the citizens of Antwerp having fent a number of armed veffels to oppose his passage over the Scheld, he was obliged to turn back, and to fetch a compass round by Duffel, Mechlin, Rimenant, In this march, besides suffering and Vilvorden. the greatest hardships in his own person, he lost a considerable number of his troops by an inundation of the river Nethe. From Duffel he wrote letters to the governors of Bruffels, and other places, in which he threw the whole blame of what had happened on the inhabitants of Antwerp. and represented the affair as a tumult, in which his troops, when upon their way to the camp, had interfered, but which had arisen in consequence of the ill usage which he himself had received. This difingenuous conduct ferved to exasperate the people of Antwerp more than ever against him, and they published a vindication of their conduct. fetting forth, " That they had in all respects demeaned themselves towards him as became good and faithful fubjects. They had given him even more than their proportion of the supplies, and had raifed the fum of feventy thousand guilders; which, instead of applying it to pay the arrears due to the army, he had distributed among his French and Swifs troops to encourage them in their late atrocious attempt. Nothing could be more palpably unjust than to impute that attempt to the citizens of Antwerp, fince, on the fame day, the French troops had offered the fame violence in other places. By the kind providence of Heaven,

B O O K XVIII. 1583.

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BOOK the plan concerted to enflave them, had been XVIII. frustrated, in such towns as were of the greatest importance; and it was their earnest prayer, that 1583. the duke might become fensible of the iniquity of his conduct, and refolve for the future to govern the provinces conformably to those fundamental laws of the constitution, which, at his accession. he had folemnly sworn to observe."

The news of what had happened, having been quickly diffused throughout the provinces, excited universal astonishment and indignation. prince of Parma, desirous to improve the opportunity which was presented to him, attempted to reconcile the people to their ancient government, But his endeavours were not more successful now than formerly. The confederates were deaf to his propofals, and even refused to appoint ambaffadors to treat with him concerning peace.

Deliberations of the States.

The States in the mean time were deliberating concerning the letter which Anjou had written to the fenate of Antwerp. Had they liftened to that just refentment with which they were inflamed, they would not have hefitated to declare that he had forfeited the fovereignty. But they confidered how extremely critical their fituation was become, while Anjou was mafter of several of their fortified towns, and the prince of Parma hovered round them with an army, against which they were unable to contend. In this perplexity they entreated the prince of Orange, who had hitherto remained filent, to affift them with his counsel. No person selt more sensibly for the distress into which Anjou's temerity had plunged the confe-

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deracy; and no person had a juster ground of BOOK provocation. It was by his means chiefly that XVIII. Anjou had obtained the fovereignty: and yet it could not be doubted, that in fending Fervaques with troops to the castle, as above related, the intention was to deprive him either of his life or his liberty. Notwithstanding this, William had at first interposed to prevent the citizens from using any violence against the prisoners; and he now gave the following conciliatory advice to the States in writing, as he generally did in matters which he deemed of high importance.

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" It was not, he faid, without reluctance, that he had refolved to deliver his opinion on the difficult question which was now before them, as it had of late been the practice of many persons to blame him for every misfortune that had befallen the confederacy. Even if he had been invested with absolute authority, their censure would have been unjust, fince the iffues of things belong to God only, and no man can answer for the success of the best concerted enterprise. Considering his age, and the injustice with which he had been treated, it would be prudent perhaps not to expose himself again to the obloquy of his detractors. But his concern for the prosperity of the Netherlands would not fuffer him to maintain that filence, which a regard to his personal ease and security required; especially as they had affured him that they would take in good part, and interpret favorably, whatever counsel he should offer.

" Nothing was farther from his intention than

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BOOK AVIII. 1583.

to attempt to justify that atrocious violence which had been lately perpetrated: on the contrary, he thought the conduct of the duke had been fuch as proved beyond a possibility of doubt, that he had forfeited his title to the fovereignty. Notwithstanding this, no person, he believed, who fuffered himself to consider attentively the course of events fince their first connexion with the duke, would deny that this connexion had been attended with advantages. By his troops, not only the fiege of Cambray, but that of Lochem too, had been raised, and the whole province of Guelderland thereby faved from the depredations of the enemy. In confequence of his election, peace had been established between the catholics and protestants in France, and the latter left at liberty to enter into the fervice of the States. Not to mention what they ought perhaps to prize more than any thing elfe, that, by electing the duke for their fovereign, not only the authority, but the name and arms of Spain, had been abolished in the Netherlands, and a foundation laid, upon which their liberty might be firmly established, provided they should exert themselves with their wonted zeal and vigor. When these things were considered, there would not appear much ground for the centures passed on those by whom the duke's election had been promoted. But whether they had judged wifely or unwifely, the States must now resolve either to make peace with the king of Spain, or trust for the future to their own firength, or enter into terms of accommodation with the duke.

"With regard to the first of these, he observed,

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that besides that all the same reasons still subsisted against returning under the Spanish yoke, which had formerly determined them to shake it off; it must appear preposterous to think of reconciling themselves as subjects to a prince, whose name and enfigns were obliterated, and whose authority they had fo folemnly renounced. There was truth in what some persons (friends of Spain more than their native country) had fuggested, that it was more defirable for the people of the Low Countries to be subject to a distant, than to a neighbouring prince, as it must be more difficult for the former, than for the latter to encroach upon their liberty. But this maxim could not, in the present divided state of the Netherlands, be urged in favor of the dominion of the king of Spain; who, belides pollelling a powerful army ready to overwhelm them, was absolute master of several of the provinces; and was therefore, in reality, much nearer to the confederacy than any other prince, asiab said days. the

"Prompted by this and other considerations, they had bestowed the sovereignty on the duke of Anjou; and he, it could not be denied, had forfeited his title to it. This was acknowledged even by the duke himself, who was now sensible of his folly. But notwithstanding his repentance, there was much ground to doubt of the expediency of entering into a second agreement with one by whom the first had been so grossly violated. There was ground to dread that the same evil counsellors, by whom the duke had been once deluded, might

BOOK XVIII. 1583, XVIII. pect, that confidence could not be foon restored between the French troops and the people of the Netherlands.

" On the other hand, he thought it his duty to call their attention to the confequences which must attend their refusing to be pacified. The duke would deliver all the fortified towns which he poffessed, into the hands of the Spaniards. Both he and his brother, the king of France, would from friends be converted into the most bitter enemies; from whom all that mischief might be expected, that can be contrived and executed by those who are stimulated by ambition, and inflamed with animosity and resentment. An immediate stop would be put by the French king to their commerce with his fubjects; and while he would shut his harbours against their ships, he would open a passage through his dominions for the troops of the king of Spain. Even the queen of England, though highly diffatisfied with the duke's conduct, yet were she to be informed that the States had obstinately refused to be reconciled, would be exceedingly offended. And if they should lose her favor, as well as that of France, to what other friend could they have recourse, either able or willing to support them? They must for the future trust for their preservation entirely to themfelves. They must, without delay, make a numerous augmentation of their forces; and yet he knew not where these forces could be raised, since the devastation of the war had been so great in every province of the confederacy, that scarcely a

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fufficient number of the people remained, to carry on their trade and manufactures. In order to maintain fuch an army as was necessary, much larger fums of money were requisite, than had hitherto been collected. What these were, would appear from the scheme which he now delivered to them, containing a particular description of all the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the war. From the difficulty which they had experienced in procuring money for paying the garrisons alone, they might judge whether they were possessed of funds adequate to the expense both of these and of an army in the field; without which, it was impossible that they could for any considerable time resist the enemy.

"He was far from censuring those who advised them to trust to the Almighty for protection. The counsel of these persons was pious and well intended; but he thought, that to engage in any difficult enterprise without the means of carrying it into execution, was more properly to tempt the Divine Providence than to trust in it; and that those only could be faid to exercise a proper trust in God, who, after embracing the most favorable opportunities of action, had recourse to Heaven by prayer, to crown their undertakings with success. It behaved them therefore still attentively to confider their strength and their resources; and if, without foreign affistance, they should find them fufficient for the purposes which they had in view, they would, in his opinion, judge wifely in resolving to retain the sovereignty in their own hands. counted to the gelt, winds as a to

B O O K XVIII. 1583. BOOK XVIII. 4583.

" There was a time when the people of the Netherlands might have established themselves in this happy state of freedom and independence; when in spite of the king of Spain, they might have expelled his brother John of Austria from the provinces. But our present situation, continued William, is widely different from what it was at the time of which I speak. A powerful Spanish army, feconded by those who were then our friends, is at our gates. The strength of the confederacy is impaired. Even with the affistance of the French troops, we have been unable to stop the progress of the enemy. If nevertheless you shall, upon inquiry, find that you are able, by making greater exertions, to do more alone, than when you were affifted by others, banish for ever all thoughts of an accommodation with the duke, and refolve henceforth, alone and unaffifted, to oppose both bim and the Spaniards. Proceed instantly to the execution of your defign. But I dread that before you can make the preparations necessary for entering upon action, before you can collect either the troops or the money requisite, and even before you can appoint a general to command your forces, many of your towns will be taken; and many of them despairing of relief, will enter into terms of accommodation with the Spaniards. For these reasons you will judge, perhaps, that in your prefent circumstances the wisest resolution which you can form, is to enter into a treaty of reconcilement with the duke. And if this shall be the refult of your deliberations, I have only one other counsel to suggest, which is, to give particular

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BOOK

XVIII.

1583.

attention in your new agreement to prevent the fortified towns from being exposed on any future occasion to that danger from which the city of Antwerp has fo narrowly escaped; and for this purpose to require, that no officer or foldier shall be admitted into garrifons without taking an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the States 11.

This reasoning of the prince of Orange pro- Reconcile, duced the defired effect upon a great majority of ment of the the deputies, and a negociation was immediately Anjou. begun, and foon afterwards a treaty of peace and March 8th. reconciliation was concluded on the following conditions: That all the French prisoners in Antwerp should be fet at liberty, the duke's papers and other effects restored, and ninety thousand guilders given him for discharging the arrears due to his troops. That he should deliver up all the towns which he had feized, retire to Dunkirk with four hundred foot and three hundred horse, and remain there till every point of difference should be entirely settled; that he should renew the oath which he took at his inauguration, to govern the provinces according to the fundamental laws, and that all his troops should take an oath of allegiance to the States, binding themselves to ferve them faithfully against their enemies, and never to be concerned in any attempt to the prejudice of their authority, and said to has

As in promoting this agreement the prince of Attempt on Orange appears to have acted under a conviction, the life of the that there was no other expedient by which the orange. confederacy could be faved from ruin; fo, in

Van Meteren and Thuanus, o ar chalogorg out of

BOOK XVIII. 1583.

being able to persuade the States to adopt it, he gave the most convincing proof of his unlimited influence over that affembly. The people in general, especially in Flanders and Brabant, were extremely averse from all accommodation. Their hereditary antipathy against the French had, on this occasion, risen to the greatest height. Many of the deputies too were animated with the same aversion and resentment; nor can it be doubted, that if they had not been prevented by that deference which they had been long accustomed to entertain for William's opinion, they would have proceeded against Anjou to the utmost extremities, and have refolved never more to acknowledge his authority. The Spaniards were not ignorant by whom the States had been prevented from forming this resolution; and they were now convinced, that, till the prince of Orange were removed, no event, however promising, would induce the confederates to return to their allegiance. They had recourse therefore to the dishonorable means of private affaffination; and to attempt it, different persons were instigated about this time by Philip or his ministers; one of them by Philip himself, according to the declaration of the criminal; but more probably, by his ministers at Madrid; another by his ambassador at the court of France; and a third by the marquis de Roubais and the prince of Parma. The conspiracy of the two former was detected, and they fuffered death; and the last, a French officer, whom Roubais had taken prisoner, and who had pretended to agree to the proposal, in order to procure his liberty,

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great emplo gave information to William's friends of the arguments which had been employed to perfuade him, and showed by his conduct afterwards in the fervice of the States, the fincerity of his abhorrence of that unhallowed deed which he had been folicited to perform ".

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The danger to which the prince was fo often Difcontents exposed from the inveterate resentment of the of the people. Spaniards, ought to have endeared his person and counfels to his countrymen, and they produced this effect in a high degree upon all those who were able to comprehend the wisdom and moderation with which he had conducted their affairs. But great numbers having formed their judgment of Anjou's election to the fovereignty, from the late unhappy consequences with which it had been accompanied, could not refrain from ascribing fome finister intention to those who had been active in promoting it. They were incapable of discerning the strength of the motives by which William had been prompted to advise the States to renew their agreement, and they even fostered fuspicions of his having attached himself to the duke, with a view to some private advantage. This spirit of discontent was not confined to the vulgar, but likewise infected several of the deputies of the States, who became fullen and refractory; and by their contentious opposition to almost every measure that was proposed, disturbed and retarded the deliberations of that affembly. A great majority however of the members agreed to employ the French and Swifs troops under marshal

BOOK XVIII. 1533.

Meteren, p. 348.

334

XV:II. 1583.

BOOK Biron, whom the duke had appointed to command them. Biron having not only had no concern in the attempt upon Antwerp, but having been confidered by Anjou as one by whom it would have been opposed, was the most unexceptionable perfon to whom the command could have been committed, and he had been long distinguished for his military skill and experience. At first his arms were attended with fuccess. He compelled the fort of Wouda to furrender, and with inferior forces he repulsed the prince of Parma, who had attacked his lines near the town of Rofendal. But it was impossible for him with fo fmall an army to ftop the progress of the Spaniards in other places, or to face them in the open field. Farnese therefore pushed his conquest with great rapidity, and made himself master of Endove, Diest, and Westerlo, while he practifed every art of negociation and intrigue against Bruges, Ghent, and other places.

During the course of these transactions the duke. of Anjou fell into a lingering illness at Dunkirk, which was generally supposed to be the effect of those hardships which he suffered in his retreat from Antwerp. Whether he believed himfelf infecure in his present situation, while the prince of Parma was fo brifkly carrying on his conquests in the neighbourhood, or found that his health required a change of air, and a relaxation from the fatigues of business, or whether he had conceived hopes at this time of obtaining, by a personal interview with his brother, more powerful affiftance

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than he had hitherto received, does not appear BOOK with fufficient evidence. But whatever was the motive which determined him, he left Dunkirk,

and fet out for France.

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The prince of Parma was no fooner informed Progress of of his departure, than he quitted Herentals, and the prince of Parma's led his troops to Dunkirk. The States, aware of arms. the importance of that place, ordered marshal Biron to march with all his forces to its relief. But fuch was the refentment which the Ghentele and other Flemings had conceived against the French, that no confideration could prevail upon them to suffer Biron to pass through their territories. They had resolved, they said, never to accede to the late agreement with the duke, whom they could not trust, and they would not be indebted to his troops for their defence. The consequence to be expected followed. The garrison of Dunkirk, which confifted wholly of French. gave up the town in a few days to the prince of Parma. He then laid fiege to Nieuport, and took it with fo much facility, as gave ground for a suspicion of treachery on the part of the garrison, He intended next to have invested Oftend, but having learnt that the prince of Orange had taken particular pains to provide for its fecurity, he relinquished his design; and having turned his arms against Dixmude and Meningen, he subdued these and several other places with a degree of celerity with which the people of the Netherlands had never been accustomed to see any military enterprifes carried on. But his fuccess served only to

BOOK XVIII. dazzle and confound the confederates, instead of opening their eyes to the fatal consequences of that discord which had exposed so great a number of their associates an easy prey to the Spaniards. Except augmenting the garrisons of two or three towns, in the preservation of which some of the deputies were personally interested, no vigorous resolution of any consequence was formed by the States, although they held their sessions daily, and were daily alarmed with fresh accounts of some new loss which the consederacy had sustained.

Injurious fuspicions against the prince of Orange.

About this time an incident fell out at Antwerp which strongly marks the spirit by which the Flemings were actuated on this occasion. The prince of Orange having given orders for building an additional rampart for the greater fecurity of the castle, some secret partisans of Spain took occasion from thence to infinuate, that he intended to deliver that fortress to the French, and was now preparing it for their reception. The people too easily believed this injurious suggestion; and having taken up arms; they ran tumultuously to the castle, with a resolution to expel the garrison. William immediately prefented himself before them. The fight of a person whom they had been so long accustomed to revere, joined to the evidence which they received on the spot, of the utter falshood of that report which they had so rashly credited, appealed the fury of the greater number, and quelled the tumult. But there were fome among them more audacious and malignant than the rest, who called him by the contumelious

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names of deferter and traitor of his country. This treatment, fo unmerited from a people whom he had faved from ruin, affected him in the most fenfible manner. He admonished the magistrates to take cognizance of the licentiousness which they had witneffed; but finding, that, on account of the great number of the guilty, they were afraid He retires to exercise their authority, he lest Antwerp, and July 23. retired into Zealand, after having delivered directions to the magistrates in writing, for the government and defence of the city, and nominated the Sieur de St. Aldegonde, chief magistrate, or governor, for the ensuing year "

William did not intend by changing the place of his refidence, to withdraw his attention from the fouthern provinces. He interested himself as much as ever in their affairs, and meant only to provide for his own fecurity, and to remove the affembly of the States (which was fummoned to

of the affection of the maritime provinces towards the prince of Orange, and of the trust and confidence which they reposed in him, he received about this time a conspicuous proof, by a resolution into which all the cities entered, except two, of creating him earl of Holland and Zealand, with all the powers and privileges which belonged to that ancient dignity. How far the prince himself contributed to their forming this resolution, does not appear from the cotemporary historians. It did not contradict the treaty between the United States and the duke of Anjou; as, by that treaty, the maritime provinces had only bound themselves to contribute their share of the public expenses. Yet it was matter of some obloquy against the prince, of whom it was faid, that he had not been inattentive to his private interest.

VOL. II.

BOOK XVIII. 1583.

BOOK XVIII. 1583.

meet at Middleburgh) to a fituation in which the deputies would not be fo much influenced by the emissaries of Spain, nor so much disturbed in their deliberations by the tumultuous disposition of the people. He still employed all his interest to reconcile the cities of Brabant and Flanders to the continuance of the French troops in the Netherlands. And his endeavours proved effectual with Bruffels. and some other towns which lay nearest to the enemy; but Ghent, and most of the other cities, remained as inflexible as ever, and resolved never to admit the French within their territories, or to be indebted to them for protection. The States therefore found it necessary to give orders for the departure of these troops, at a time when every friend of his country, who fuffered himself to reflect on the critical fituation of the confederacy, thought that the provinces ought rather to have made concessions to Anjou and the French king, in order to induce the latter to augment their number. Biron put them on board transports at Biervliet, and thence conducted them by fea to France.

August 27.

The Spaniards were now at liberty to pursue their conquests almost without opposition. Farnese immediately formed the blockade of Ipres. Allost was fold to him by an English and Walloon garrison for the payment of their arrears. The country of Waes, and the town of Ruplemonde on the Scheld, were subdued, and Zutphen too was taken by surprise; the consequence of which was, that the Veluwe, an extensive territory

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BOOK XVIII.

In the mean time the secret partisans of Spain were daily increasing in Bruges, Ghent, and other places. Many persons had declared themselves against Anjou with so much violence, that they dreaded his return. Many were intimidated by the rapidity of the prince of Parma's conquests. Some having been intrusted with the public money, were asraid of being called to account for their management of it by the prince of Orange and the States, and all of them were allured to their first allegiance by the moderation with which Farnese treated such as had already submitted to him, and the strict sidelity with which he adhered to his engagements.

Among the persons, who, prompted by these motives, were defirous of again reducing their country under the Spanish government, the prince of Orange had the mortification to find his brother - in - law, count Heremberg. This nobleman, weak, inconstant, and governed by his wife, who was the prince's fifter, but had for some time been at variance with her brother, had formed the defign of delivering the province of Guelderland, of which he had been appointed governor, into the hands of the Spaniards. His plot having been detected before it was ripe for execution, he was feized and imprisoned by an order of the States. But having been afterwards fet at liberty upon his parole, he gave irrefragable proof of his guilt by flying over to the enemy.

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BOOK XVIII. Treachery of the prince of Chimai.

The prince of Chimai's intrigues in Flanders were more successful. This nobleman, eldest fon of the duke d'Arschot, had been educated in the catholic faith, but fome time before the present period, he had openly professed the reformed religion, and attached himfelf with much apparent zeal to the party of the prince of Orange and the States. Conscious that both his religion and patriotism were mere grimace, he had labored with confummate artifice to remove any fuspicions that might be entertained of his fincerity. He was perpetually furrounded with the protestant minifters with whom he lived on the most familiar terms; and he published an apology for his conduct in which, with the highest encomiums on the protestant faith, he mingled the bitterest invectives against Philip, bestowing on him every reproachful epithet which the most implacable hatred could fuggeft. By thefe means he had infinuated himself into the favor of great numbers of the protestants; and particularly those of Bruges, who conferred upon him the government of their town. The prince of Orange, having received information of a fecret correspondence which he held with the catholics, had at first attempted to diffuade the people of Bruges from electing him their governor, and he now gave fecret instructions to the magistrates, to employ colonel Boyd, a Scotch officer, who commanded one of the regiments in garrison, to deprive Chimai of his authority. Boyd affected to enter heartily into the plan proposed, but he betrayed

1584.

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the magistrates, and gave immediate information BOOK of their delign to Chimai; who, through an artful XVIII. misrepresentation of their conduct, was enabled to expel them from the city. He then put others into their place, who were devoted to his interest. and fill pretended all his wonted zeal for the reformed religion, till, having obliged many of the principal citizens to withdraw, he made himself. mafter of the town, and then delivered it to the May prince of Parma, upon condition that the prince should confer upon him the government of the province. To the obtaining of this request, which was granted by Farnese, and confirmed by Philip. Chimai thought himself the better entitled, as he had contributed in the same perfidious manner to the reduction of lpres, which, after a blockade of nine months, had lately been obliged to furrender. Not long after this he threw off the mask of religion, and both he and one of the protestant ministers, who had been a principal instrument of his deceit, publicly abjured Calvinism, and declared themselves converts to the popish faith ".

An attempt of the same nature with that of Chimai on Bruges was made by Imbife, and other agents of Farnele, to put Ghent and Dendremonde into his possession. In order to second their endeavours, he had pitched his camp between Ghent and Bruges; but the plan which had been formed for the furprise of Dendremonde was discovered. and Imbife, the principal contriver, who was chief

Meteren, p. 357. Thuanus, lib. Ixxix. c. 15.

BOOK

XVIII. 1584. Death of Anjou.

June.

magistrate of Ghent, a factious and turbulent old man, was condemned and executed.

During these transactions, the prince of Orange was employed in establishing a thorough reconcilement between the States and the duke of Anjou, whose return with a numerous army the prince considered as the only remedy for the increafing calamities of the commonwealth. There was more reason now than ever to expect that Anjou would foon be able to fulfil his engagements. Through the Queen mother's intercession, Henry had openly declared his resolution to exert himself with vigor in the support of his brother's interest in the Netherlands. An ambassador had been fent by the States to congratulate with the duke on this defirable event, and to acquaint him of their having confented to certain conditions which he had proposed. His joy on this occasion was extreme, and he now indulged the most flattering expectations; but he did not long furvive these events, which gave him fo much pleasure. Having never enjoyed perfect health fince the hardthips which he underwent in his retreat from Beginning of Antwerp, he was feized about this time with an illness, which might have been easily accounted for, from the unfound state of his constitution; but which, agreeably to the practice of the age, was attributed to poison 17. Whatever was the cause,

> It was supposed to have been given him by his physician, bribed by the court of Spain.

10th of June, 1584, at the age of thirty.

he died in great pain, at Chateau-Thierry, on the

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Such was the conclusion of the restless life of BOOK this prince, whose weaknesses and vices were equally pernicious to himself, to the Netherlands, and to France. Improvident of the future, and unable to judge for himfelf, he was a flave to the felfish purposes of others, as well as to his own humor and caprice. He feems likewife to have been incapable of discerning the merit or demerit of those who approached him, or the foundness or folly of the counsels which they offered. He was not void of friendship or attachment, and he was active and ambitious; but he was entirely destitute of that patience, steadiness, and resolution, which are necessary in carrying on any important enterprise; and his conduct towards the United Provinces above related, too clearly justifies what was faid of him by his fifter Margaret, that if fraud and infidelity were to be banished from the earth, there was in him a stock sufficient from which it might be foon replenished 18.

Yet his death, at the present crisis, was a real Ammination calamity to the people of the United Provinces; of the prince but the memory of it was foon effaced by a much greater calamity, which in a few weeks afterwards befel them, in the death of the prince of Orange; against whom one of those atrocious attempts, to which Philip's profcription gave birth, proved at last successful. It was planned and afterwards executed in Delft, by Balthazar Gerard, a native of Villefans in Burgundy. This man, in order to facilitate his admission into the prince's presence,

Bentivoglio, 275. D'Avila, l. vi. &c.

XVIII.

BOOK had called himself the son of a French protestant. of the name of Guion, who had fuffered for the 1564. Take of his religion. By this fictitious account of his extraction, joined to an artful affectation of zeal for the reformed religion and the fervice of the States, he became known to the prince; and William was fo far deceived by this impostor, that he put him into the train of an ambaffador to the court of France. This mark of confidence did not divert him from his ungenerous defign; on the contrary, he had no fooner returned from France than he resolved to carry it into execution; and he would have done fo, as he afterwards declared, on his first arrival, when he was admitted with letters into the prince's apartment, if he had not peglected to furnish himself with arms But in a few days after, having returned to the palace, on the pretence of applying for a paffport, he placed himfelf at the door of that apartment, in which the prince was at dinner with his wife Louisa de Coligni, and his fifter the countels of Schwartzenburgh, and waited there, with a cloak cast round him, till they were retiring into another room. The princess, observing him look confused and pale, was greatly alarmed, and inquired what he wanted. He comes for a paffport, answered the prince; when the affaffin, flepping forward, that him in the body with a piftol loaded with three balls. William had time only to fay, "God have mercy on me, and this afflicted people: I am grievously wounded. " Immediately after which he fell down, and in a few moments after-

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wards expired "; the princess, overwhelmed with BOOK anguish, looking on; whose peculiar fate it was XVIII. to fee her fecond husband murdered, as her illustrious father, and her first husband, the amiable Teligni, had been, in the massacre of Paris, some years before.

July 10th.

The murderer, in the mean time had made his escape out of the palace by a back door, and had almost reached the ramparts. He was preparing to throw himself into the ditch, which was full of water, in the hopes of being able to fwim over. when he was overtaken by two of the prince's

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Upon his first examination he declared, that, fix years before the present period, he had formed the defign of putting the prince to death; that We had then been deterred from his purpose by his friends; that he had again refumed it, when the king published his edict of proscription; that having been in the fervice of Du Pré, fecretary to count Mansfeldt, he had procured from him some blank subscriptions of the count's, which, in order to gain credit, he had delivered to the prince; that he had communicated his defign to four jesuits in Treves and Tournay, who assured him, that if he should die in the execution of it, he would be deemed a martyr by the church.

To these circumstances, after the torture was applied, he fubjoined, that the reward promifed in the profcription had been his principal motive; that he had made known his purpose to the prince

<sup>19</sup> In the fifty-fecond year of his age.

BOOK XVIII. 1584. of Parma, and had been advised by him to converse with his secretary, Christopher Assonville; that Assonville had desired him to reslect on the difficulties which he must encounter; but had assured him, that he could not perform a more acceptable service either to the king or the prince of Parma; that he might depend, with persect security, upon receiving the money promised in the king's edict of proscription; but exhorted him repeatedly to deny, in case of his being seized, that the prince of Parma had approved of his design; although the prince, he said, had in reality approved of it, and had consented to his using the blank subscriptions.

When he was informed of the sentence pronounced against him, in which it was ordained, that his right hand should be burnt off, and the flesh of his body torn from the bones with burning pincers, he was at first thrown into the most dreadful consternation, and lamented bitterly that he had fuffered the thirst of wealth to betray him into an action, which had plunged him into fuch intolerable misery; but he soon recovered his natural fortitude, and faid, that, far from repenting of what he had done, he was conscious of having merited the favor of God, and was fure of being admitted into a state of eternal happiness. And in this temper of mind he remained, both in the interval before his execution, and the time of it, during which he exhibited a degree of composure and tranquillity that filled the spectators with astonishment.

The highest encomiums were bestowed on this deluded wretch by the popish ecclesiastics in the

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fouthern provinces; and in many cities they would BOOK have lighted up bonfires, and celebrated public XVIII. rejoicings, if the confent of the people could have been obtained; but even the prince of Parma's troops refused to join in these rejoicings, and openly declared their condemnation of an act, which they found repugnant to the dictates of their hearts, whatever might be faid in justification of it, on the principles of crooked politics, or the popish faith.

The reader will not need being told of the grief and consternation, which this melancholy event diffused throughout the confederated provinces. Each person mourned as for his parent, his guardian, and friend, and felt for the loss which the State had sustained, as men are wont to feel for their private and domestic calamities. Being now deprived of the person whose wisdom had, for many years, been their principal support, they considered themselves as destitute and forlorn, and were overwhelmed with the most gloomy apprehensions of their future fate 10.

Never was any person better fitted than the Character of prince of Orange for the difficult fituation in which the prince. he was placed, or better qualified for the arduous talk of delivering an injured people from the yoke of their oppressor. Even his bitterest enemies allow him to have been possessed of vigilance, application, penetration, and fagacity, joined with a peculiar dexterity in governing the inclinations of men, and in conciliating and preferving their

Meteren . p. 363. Bentivoglio , lib. xii. Thuanus in hoc anno.

BOOK XVIII. 1584. affections. To these accomplishments both the history of his life, and the testimony of the best informed historians, authorize us to add the virtues of fortitude and magnanimity, of justice and equity, of patience, equanimity, and moderation, which were never perhaps found united in one person in so eminent a degree . Amidst all the variety of fortune which he experienced, he was never either elated or depressed; but whether the events in which he was interested were prosperous or adverse, he preserved on all occasions the same composure and serenity of soul.

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By a respectable popish historian ", he is accused of avarice and rapacity, yet that author has not been able to produce a single sact to justify his charge. It appears not from any historian, that he was ever guilty of employing his power for the purpose of advancing his private interest to the prejudice either of individuals or the public. He always declined taking any concern in administering the finances. He did not even exact payment of the revenue which the States had appointed him; and at his death he left his private affairs so much encumbered, that the States found it necessary to make provision for the support of his widow and children."

The same historian had loaded him with the imputation of fraud and hypocrify, of which however no proof was ever given but general invective,

Thuani Historia. Bentivoglio.

<sup>31</sup> Wickfort, lib. ii.

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nor a fingle instance of deceit produced by his most inveterate enemies. Before his rupture with Philip, he testified on all occasions his disapprobation of the measures that were pursued; and after it, he acted uniformly the part of an open foe. He had no religion, fay fome catholic writers, but what his interest and ambition dictated. Yet he was decent and irreproachable in his conduct, as well as punctual in discharging the functions of that religion which he professed; nor do these authors pretend to offer any other evidence to justify their furmife, but that he gave up the catholic religion, in which he had been educated at the court of the emperor, and returned to that with which his mind had been tinetured in his earliest infancy. His religion was not indeed of the fame spirit either with that of those whom he forfook, or of many of those whose cause he adopted. It fuffered him not to regard either speculative opinions or external right, as sufficient ground for haraffing and butchering those from whom he differed in opinion. But in an age of cruel, gloomy superstition, with which almost all the companions of his youth were deeply infected. his religion, conformably to the example and precepts of its author, was mild, moderate, and humane. Nor was it to one feet of Christians only that his moderation and humanity extended. As he did what he could, while he adhered to the catholic faith, to put a stop to the persecution of the protestants; so after he had embraced the reformed religion, he exerted his most strenuous endeavours

EOOK XVIII- B O O K XVIII. 1584. to protect the catholics from violence, and to procure liberty for them to exercise their religion as far as was consistent with the public peace. To infer from this conduct, that he had no religion of his own, is going a great deal farther than to affert the lawfulness of persecution; it is equivalent to maintaining, that no Christian can be sincere who can live at peace with those who differ from him in his religious persuasion.

It is not to the purpose which the popish historians intended to serve by their portraits of William's character, to say of him that he was ambitious: in itself, ambition merits neither praise nor blame, but is culpable or laudable according to the end at which it aspires, and the means which it employs. But if we judge concerning the character of the prince of Orange according to this criterion, it must be impossible for persons so opposite in their principles, as the catholic and pro-

testant historians, to agree.

If, with the former, we place the rights of all fovereigns on the same foundation, without distinguishing between an absolute prince and the sovereign of a free people, and believe that every prince is, by an indefeasible and divine right, entitled to exercise a despotic power over the religion and liberty of his subjects; if we believe, that with the permission of the pope, a king may violate his most solemn oaths, and that the obligations of his subjects to obedience remain in force, even after every condition upon which they entered into them has been violated; if with such principles as these, we judge of the character of the prince of Orange,

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fello in fu it will be difficult not to confider him as guilty both of perjury and rebellion; and, in this case, the most favorable verdict that can be passed upon his conduct, is to say, that it proceeded from a

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B O O K XVIII. 1584.

criminal ambition. But if, on the other hand, we regard the pontiff's pretentions to the power of fetting men at liberty from their oaths as abfurd and impious; if we regard the rights of subjects as no less facred than those of kings; if we distinguish between a prince invested with unlimited authority, and one whose power is circumscribed by the fundamental laws of the State; between a prince whose right to his dominions is indefeafible, and one who obtained his fovereignty only upon certain terms, which he fwore to fulfil, while his subjects engaged to yield their obedience on condition of his fulfilling them; in this case, our judgment of William's character will be extremely different from what it was on the former supposition. We will not be fatisfied with barely afferting his innocence of those crimes of which his enemies have accused him, but we will confer upon him the glorious appellations which his countrymen bestowed, of the father of his country, and the guardian of its liberty and laws, who generously facrificed his interest, ease, and safety to the public good, and who, first by counsel and persuasion, and afterwards by force of arms, did more to rescue his fellow-citizens from oppression, than was ever done in fuch untoward circumstances by any patriot in the world before ".

<sup>24</sup> William left iffue, four fons and eight daughters. By

Nook his first wise, Anne of Egmont, Countels of Buren, he had Philip William, who was detained for thirty years a prisoner in Spain; and Mary de Nassau, who was married to count Hohenlohe.

By his fecond wife, Anne, daughter of Maurice, elector of Saxony, he had prince Maurice, fo much celebrated in the history of the Netherlands, and a daughter, named Emilia, who married Emanuel, son of Don Antonio, prior of Crato.

By his third wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, daughter of the duke de Montpensier, he had six daughters, viz:

- t. Louisa Juliana, who was married to Frederic IV.
- 2. Elizabeth, whom he gave in marriage to Henry de la Tour, duke of Bouillon; and who, besides other children, bore her husband the celebrated Viscount de Turenne.
  - 3. Catharine, who married Lewis, Count de Hanau.
- 4. Charlotte Brabantina, married to Claude, duke de la Tremouille, to whom fhe bore the celebrated countels of Derby, who distinguished herself during the civil wars in England; and from whom are descended the present noble families of Derby and Athol.
- 5. Charlotte Flandrina de Nassau, who embraced the Catholic religion and died abbess of St. Croix in Poitiers.
- 6. Emilia de Nassau, who was married to the duke of Lansberg.

By his fourth and last wife, Louisa de Coligny, daughter of the great admiral de Chatillon, William had one son, Henry-Frederic, who succeeded his brother Maurice in the principality, of Orange, and in his authority in the united provinces.

Besides this numerous offspring, William lest a natural fon, Justin de Nassau, who was highly respected for his bravery and conduct, was intrusted with several important commands, and is often mentioned in the sequel.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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